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THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

V O L. XI.



L O N D O N,

Printed for C. BATHURST, J. F. and C. RIVINGTON, A. HAMILTON, T. PAYNE, T. LONGMAN, S. CROWDER, B. LAW, J. ROBSON, F. NEWBERY, G. ROBINSON, T. CADELL, J. and T. BOWLES, S. BLADON, J. MURRAY, J. NICHOLS, J. BOWEN, and W. Fox.

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THE
MODERN PART
OF
Universal History.

C H A P. XXXIX. *Continued.*

*The History of the Dispersion of the Jews ; or
an Account of their distressed State from the
Destruction of Jerusalem to the End of the
last Century.*

AFTER the conquest of Persia by Omar II. khalif after Mohammed, the Jews under that monarchy not only became subject to the Saracens, but very often changed their masters, both by the swift succession of those monarchs, and the rapidity of their conquests in the East, and yet we do not find that their condition was at all altered for the worse, except that they shared in the common misfortunes which those conquerors brought into every province they subdued. We even find them making great rejoicings upon Omar's having overthrown Isdegert, and seized upon his dominions, as well as at every instance of success which either he or his successors had against the Christians ; especially as they found these new conquerors more mild and friendly towards their nation, so that they soon began to enjoy the full liberty not only of their religion, but of opening their academies, and restoring them to their former flourishing condition. They mention indeed some sharp disputes which

Jews under the khalifs, enjoy their old freedom of religion, &c. and likewise those of Egypt.

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they had with the khalif Ali, about the many factions into which his sect, though of so short standing, was already divided; which charge that khalif retorted, by reminding them of their several idolatries, immediately after their miraculous passing the Red Sea. However, this recrimination did not hinder that prince from protecting them, as they had taken care to secure his favour by the homage they paid him. We are, indeed, told that the Jews, who pretended then to deal in astrology and magic, had promised Yezid, the son of Hafan, then on the throne, and a wicked prince, a forty years reign, if he would destroy all the images within his dominions; but that his accepting the condition raised such a powerful party of saints in heaven, that they obtained a sentence of death against him. Upon which his son was going to revenge the cheat, and his father's death, upon them, but that they retired betimes into the Roman territories, and so escaped his resentment^a. But there is a manifest anachronism in that story, to say nothing worse of it, since Yezid died, A. D. 683; whereas, according to the author last named, the edict against images did not come out till three years after, that is, anno 686. Besides, it is so far from probable that the Jewish nation suffered under Yezid, or any of his immediate successors, that, on the contrary, they lived in such liberty and quiet under them, that their prince, or chief of the captivity, enjoyed as great an authority as if he had been their real king: and the same may be said of those that dwelt in Egypt and Syria^b, which was then under the Ommiades, whose family was no less friendly to the Jewish nation.

*Justinian's
edict against
them.*

But it is now time to turn our eyes to those in the West, under the Roman emperors, at Constantinople, Africa, Italy, Spain, and France, during the sixth and seventh centuries, which we chuse to join together, to avoid breaking off the thread of their history. The first cause of complaint which the emperor Justinian, who affected to judge of most affairs relating to religion, gave them, was his edict which forbade them to celebrate their passover according to their own calculation, and enjoined them to keep it at the same time with the Christians. This was no more than we are told he did to the latter, whom he obliged to follow his new calculation, which caused no less confusion

^a Bartoloc. ubi supra, tom. iv. p. 464. Maimbourg. Hist. Iconoclast. lib. i. ^b Vide Bafnag. ubi supra, lib. viii. cap. 10. sect. 13.

amongst them; but only the Jews, always tenacious of their old way, resenting it at a higher rate. They were soon after exposed to a more severe edict, by which that emperor deprived them of several privileges; particularly that of being admitted by the magistrates as evidence against the Christians; of making wills, and bequeathing legacies: to which some add, that of bringing up their children in their religion, who were to be catechised, and brought up Christians. He likewise deprived those of Africa of the exercise of their religion, at the request of the council of Carthage; and sent orders to his præfectus prætoris there to turn all their synagogues into churches, and to restrain them from performing any religious duties in caverns^c.

A.D. 530.

In Africa suppressed.

These edicts, which were by the Jews looked upon as a kind of persecution, failed not, as usual, to produce a more than ordinary discontent; which by degrees ripened into revolts, as soon as a proper opportunity offered. The first of them was raised accordingly by one Julian, who set up for the Messiah, and drew after him many of the Jews of Palestine, who were in great hopes of him, from the title of Conqueror which he took, and the great appearance he made; and who having armed all his followers, led them against the Christians. These, being fearless of any hostilities from the oppressed Jews at that time, were slaughtered by them in great numbers, till at length the emperor sent his forces against, and suppressed them; though they fought rather like wild desperadoes than like regular troops. Their leader being taken, was immediately put to death, and his fate terminated the revolt^d.

A false Messiah in Palestine.

Much such another disturbance happened at Cæsarea, about twenty-five years after; in which the Samaritans and Jews, though mortal enemies to each other, joined forces against the Christians, demolished their churches, massacred great numbers of them, and particularly the governor in his own palace^e. His lady, having happily escaped their fury, informed Justinian of all that happened, who immediately sent Adamantius thither to take full information of the facts, which being conveyed to court, with all their aggravations, the richer Jews had their goods confiscated, great numbers of those who had been con-

A.D. 555.

Jews revolt at Cæsarea.

^c Procop. de Ædific. lib. v. cap. 2. p. 110, & seq. ^d Paul Diacon. Procop. Malala, &c. ubi supra. ^e Id. ibid. P. Vanfred. Hist. in Biblioth. Max Patr. tom. xiii. p. 376. Cedren. Annal. p. 316.

cerned in the revolt were beheaded or banished, and their execution performed with such severity as made the rest of the Jewish nation tremble, and prevented for a time their taking up arms against the Christians.

*Help to defend
Naples.*

Joined, however, with the Goths in Italy against Justinian and his general Belisarius, especially at the city of Naples, which the latter was then besieging (A), and in which they fought most desperately against him, as being fully convinced that they must expect no mercy from him; for whilst the citizens were deliberating about a surrender, and had drawn up the articles of capitulation, the friends of the Goths came to dissuade them from it; and, to do it the more effectually, had brought with them a number of Jewish merchants, to assure them, that if they held out, they should want neither provisions nor ammunition of any kind; by which means the siege being prolonged, and that general being forced to lose a great number of his men, was the more exasperated against them. What farther relates to the Jews, is, that they defended that part of the town which is towards the sea, even after the other part was surrendered to the besiegers. They were, however forced to submit; and though we are told that Belisarius tried all proper means to inspire his soldiers with sentiments of clemency; yet, whether they did not believe him in earnest, or were too much exasperated to listen to him, a terrible slaughter was made of the besieged, in which the Jews were horribly butchered, without distinction of age, sex, or quality^f. This dreadful severity quell-

^f Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. i. cap. 8, & seq. p. 329, & seq.

(A) That general having quitted the Vandals in Africa, and recovered the sacred Jewish vessels, which Titus had carried from Jerusalem to Rome, and Genseric had seized on at the sacking of that metropolis, Justinian had ordered them to be conveyed to Constantinople, to adorn his general's triumph. The sight of them, which could not but remind the Jews of that capital of the sad catastrophe of their city and temple, made so lively an impression on one of them, that he could not forbear cry-

ing out, as if he had been seized with a sudden enthusiasm, that those vessels ought not to be laid up in any other place but that, for the use of which Solomon had consecrated them: he added, it was on their account that Rome had been taken by Genseric, and Genseric had been vanquished by the Romans. This speech was soon brought to the emperor, who looking on the Jews as divinely inspired, immediately ordered them to be conveyed to Jerusalem.

ed them for a time, and we hear of neither revolt nor persecution during the two subsequent reigns. Perhaps also they bought their peace with money, especially from Mauritius, who was then engaged in a troublesome war against the Avari; but under the traitor Phocas they made a bloody insurrection at Antioch, where they were very populous and wealthy; in which the Christians, who proved too weak to withstand them, suffered the most horrid cruelties; great numbers were burnt in their own houses; others were thrown into the flames; and the bishop Anastasius, the second of that name, treated with the most barbarous indignities; for, not content to have him dragged along the streets, they cut off his privities, and thrust them in his mouth; and, after having made a dismal spectacle of him through the streets of the place, slung him into the fire. They were, however, with great difficulty, suppressed by count Bonosus, whom Phocas sent with a sufficient force against them^g. Those that came off easiest were banished, and sent away mangled and maimed. By this time they were again grown very numerous in the island of Cyprus, notwithstanding Adrian's severe edict against their setting foot in it even as travellers. It was about four years after the massacre at Antioch, that the good Cyprian bishop Leontius, fearing, perhaps, the same fate from them, resolved, if possible, to convert them to Christianity, and succeeded so well in it, if we may depend upon his apology to be genuine, that the far greater part of them were baptized.

A. D. 602.

Cruelties at Antioch.

We find them very numerous and quiet in Italy, where pope Gregory the Great, who reigned about this time, exhorted his clergy and flock to use them with candour and tenderness, seeing, as he himself believed and alleged, they were all to be recalled, and become a considerable part of Christ's fold^h; for which reason, said he, they must be brought into the unity of the faith by gentle means, fair persuasions, and charitable advice, and not by force, which is rather apt to disgust them. Accordingly, we read of several remarkable conversions wrought among them, and some of them attended with circumstances not much short of being miraculous, though we forbear repeating them here. That pontiff not only blamed the untimely zeal of some bishops, but even of some of

Their quiet state under Gregory the Great.

Laws against them.

^g Zonar. Annal. tom. iii. Paul Diacon. Hist. lib. xvii. Leont. Episc. Neapol. Cyp. Apol. Cont. Jud. Aët. Concil. Nic. ii. can. 4.
^h Greg. lib. iv. ind. 13. epist. 50. lib. vii. epist. 24.

their new converts, particularly that of one, who went and planted a cross, and the Virgin's image in the synagogue, which he ordered to be taken away, alleging, that since the laws do not permit them to build new synagogues, they ought to be allowed the free use of their old places of worship. He not only revived the old edicts against their having Christian slaves, which had been long since shamefully neglected, but ordained, that all the Jewish domestics, that should take refuge in the churches, and be baptized, should, ipso facto, become free.

A. D. 613.

*Change un-
cer Hera-
clius.*

Their condition altered much for the worse as soon as the emperor Heraclius had concluded a peace with Persia, by which the cross of Christ, formerly taken by them, had been restored to him, and sent to Jerusalem. It plainly appears, from his own words, that he hated the Jewish nation, because they were enemies of Christ and his religion: but what gave him the first handle against them, was his meeting with one at Tiberias, named Benjamin, so wealthy as to have alone furnished his army and court with provisions, and so elated on that account, that he plagued the Christians with troublesome law-suits and malicious prosecutions. Benjamin, fearing his resentment, found no better expedient to avoid it, than turning Christian; but this circumstance did not lessen the emperor's aversion to the nation, whom he soon after caused to be banished out of Jerusalem, with a severe prohibition against any of them who should thenceforth approach within three miles of that city.

*Reasons of
his perse-
cuting
them.*

But what more effectually exasperated him against them, was an answer given him by some of his soothsayers, whom he had consulted about the fate of the empire, that he would be undone by a circumcised nation; for when he came to consider how numerous and powerful they were in most parts of the empire, what frequent efforts they had made to recover their liberty, and what bloody revolts they had raised against the Christians at divers times and places, he no longer doubted but they were the circumcised meant by the soothsayers; and, consequently, that the most effectual means of preventing its accomplishment, was to prosecute and oblige them to abjure Judaism; little dreaming, that the Saracens, who are also circumcised, and not the Jews, were the people who were to overthrow the empire.

*Their sad
case in
Spain and
Gaul.*

He did not think it sufficient to persecute them in his dominions, but endeavoured to bring the same calamities upon them in Gaul, Spain, and other kingdoms. He made

it

it one of the principal conditions of the peace with Sizibut, king of Spain, that he should oblige them either to abjure Judaism, and be baptized, or to abandon the kingdom: that monarch made no difficulty to consent to it; and, without consulting any of his bishops, engaged in an action which was contrary to the Christian religion. In spite of all their remonstrances, he caused the principal persons among them to be flung into prison, where, having languished a considerable time, one part of them turned Christians, to avoid the grievous punishments to which they had been condemned; and the rest retired into Gaul, where Heraclius made them undergo the same fate. His zeal, however, was highly discommended, not only by Isidor, bishop of Seville, who was, in other respects, a great admirer of that prince¹, but likewise by the fourth council of Toledo, in which he presided, which declared it unlawful and unchristian to force people to believe; seeing, "it is God alone who hardens and shews mercy to whom he will." However, the next Toledan council, which sat about five years after, was so far from condemning the violence used against them, that they highly commended the zeal of their monarch Sciuntila, and blessed God for inspiring him with it; ratified the laws he had made against the Jews; decreed, that, from thenceforth, no king should mount the throne till he had taken a solemn oath to observe them, and concluded with an anathema against those that should violate them. This decree was so punctually executed by the succeeding princes, and such severe laws were made against the reculant Jews, that they chose to conform rather than incur the penalties. But as those forced conversions were nothing less than sincere, and great numbers were observed to judaize again, and a new council was convened by king Reccesuinthus to put a stop to that abuse, the Jews, on their part, resolved to avoid the ill consequences of it, by sending a letter to that monarch, in the name of all their brethren then in Spain, protesting, that, though they had till then dissimbled, being neither altogether Jews, nor thoroughly converted, yet they were now fully resolved to become sincere professors, and wholly to conform to the laws of the Gospel. This solemn protest became the more suspected as it promised so fair, and was looked upon, both by the king and council, as designed only to prevent the

A. D. 633.

Council of Toledo's decree.

A. D. 653.

A new Council.

¹ Isidor. Hispal. Chron. Gothor. p. 402. Vide & Solom. Ben. Virg. Sheveth Jehudah. p. 93, & seq.

A D. 686.

*Julian's
book
against
them.**Jews in
Gaul.*

penalties inflicted against those that had relapsed; for their behaviour was quite opposite to it, they still making open profession of Judaism, and publicly attacking Christianity, insomuch, that Ervigius was obliged to order Julian, then archbishop of Toledo, to write against them; which he did accordingly, and with great strength and success^k, in a learned treatise, which he published a little before the close of the seventh century.

Egica soon after preferred a complaint to the same Tole-tan council against the Jews, who, he says, had combined with those of Africa against him. That prince added, that the infection had spread itself through all the provinces of the Spanish monarchy; and that, though it had not yet reached France and Italy, it was not therefore the less deserving of their serious attention. Whereupon it was there decreed, that all the Jews should be deprived of their privileges, and declared perpetual slaves; that their effects should be confiscated, and their children taken from them, and brought up by the Christians. This severe edict, however, they did, in all probability, elude, as usual, by a timely baptism; for we do not read of any that suffered on its account.

*Conspire
against the
Goths.*

Those of Gaul made so obscure a figure, that we should not have known of them, but for some edicts of Constantine the Great, which mention them in Belgic Gaul^l; and it is not till the sixth century that historians begin to speak of them; about which time mention is made of their having intended a false accusation against Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, for being in the interest of the Franks, then laying siege to it, and having engaged to deliver up that city to them; upon which the bishop was fetched from his palace, in order to have been thrown into the Rhosne; but was miraculously preserved, and brought back privately to his palace. The Jews, believing him dead, persisted in their perfidy; and one of them, under pretence of throwing a stone into the besiegers trenches, sent them an invitation to scale the walls on that side which was guarded by the Jews; promising to deliver up the city to them, on condition they should be exempted from being plundered. The letter being found next morning, discovered the treasonable design of the Jews, as well as the innocence of the bishop^m. This circumstance shews, that they were already

^k Jul. Tolet. cont. Jud. lib. i. Ribl. Babbim. p. 127, & seq. lib. iii. p. 139, & seq.

^l De his vid. Greg. Turonens. tom. ii.

^m Vide Fragment. de Morib. & Gest. Francor. tom. i. p. 232. Cyprian ap. Mabill. sect. i. p. 662. Basnage, ubi supra, cap. xliij.

in no small credit, since they were allowed, even during a siege, to take upon them the guard of one part of the city.

As soon as the Romans had been driven out of Gaul, and the Visigoths suppressed in it, we find divers regulations made by the councils there, relating to the Jews ever since the reign of Clovis, the first king of the Franks; one in particular under Childebert, to whom that crown was fallen by lot, which forbade them to appear in the streets of Paris, from Thursday in the Holy Week to Easter Sunday; which shews, that they were by that time settled either in that city, or in some of its suburbs. The same step was likewise taken by the council of Orleans in the very same year; from which one may conclude, they were dispersed in several other parts of France. They were still more numerous in Languedoc, whence Berreol, bishop of Uzes, was banished upon their account. His extreme desire of converting them had betrayed him into such a familiarity with them, as rendered him suspected at court, where he was forced to go and justify himself to king Childebert; but being again restored after some years exile, he fell into the other extreme, and drove them all out of his bishoprick ⁿ.

*Edicts
against
them.*

A. D. 540.

*Persecuted
at Uzes.*

They brought a much greater mischief upon themselves by their untimely zeal at Clermont, in the province of Auvergne, where Avitus, the bishop of it, was making some conversions among them. One of the new converts having entered the city in his white garment, the sight of it so far provoked one of the same nation as to presume to fling a pot of stinking oil upon him; for which he would have been torn in pieces by the Christians, had not the bishop interposed. However, his humanity did but delay their resentment till the next festival, which proved Ascension-day; on which the people, leaving the procession, went and pulled down the Jewish synagogue. The consequence was, they were obliged either to turn Christians, or be banished. Many of them were baptized, and those that remained obstinate, returned to Marseilles, whence they had originally come. St. German was no less zealous for their conversion; and the historians of those times relate some instances of his zeal, accompanied with miracles ^p. King Chilperic, who observed those of his kingdoms of Soissons

*Expelled
Languedoc
and Cler-
mont un-
der king
Chil-
peric and
Dagobert.*

A. D. 569.

ⁿ Le Cointe. Annat. sub. A. D. 556. ^p Gregor. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. v. cap. 11. Venaut Poeta ap. Bibliot. Max. Patr. tom. x. lib. 4. epist. 5. ^p Vid. Fredegar. Chron. Hist. Franc. tom. i.

and Paris to be rich and numerous, likewise obliged them to be baptized, and punished those that refused it. But neither his converts nor martyrs did him much honour; though, being a wicked prince, he doubted not but his zeal might make some atonement for his vices. The same disaster befel them under king Dagobert, who, being then sole monarch in France, and no less wicked than Chimeric, endeavoured to ingratiate himself with his clergy and people by his hatred against the Jewish nation; and obliging them either to be baptized or banished; by which means those, who had fled hither from Spain, found themselves in as bad a plight here, as they had been in that kingdom (B). Many of them left that country, and took refuge where they could find it: but the greater part chose to dissemble, rather than follow them; and, by degrees, returned to their old way.

A. D. 629.

A. D. 655.

Under Bathilda.

Bathilda, the widow of Clovis, during the minority of her sons, among many other regulations, had abolished the capitation which had been exacted time out of mind, and a great nuisance to the nation, because it restrained people from marrying, and obliged many to sell their children to avoid paying the tax. The Jews were become odious by the infamous traffic of those children, which they sold to barbarous nations; upon which account, that princess not only removed the cause of it by taking off the capitation, but obliged all those captives to be restored which they had in their hands; and prohibited that cruel commerce for the future; though we do not find, that she

Greg. Turon. & Marollé's Not. in eund. tom. i. p. 386.
Gesta Dagobert.

(B) About this seventh century began to flourish the famed academy of Lunel, one of the most celebrated in all the West, not only for its doctors, and the great number of learned men, who had their education there, but much more for their extraordinary charity in maintaining their scholars at their own charges. This city, situate in Languedoc, between Montpellier and Nîmes, was still subsisting in great splendor, in the twelfth century, when Benjamin de Tudela went

through it. The famed Solomon Jarchi, one of the most learned Jews that France ever bred, had either his birth, or, at least, his education in this place.

Lunel produced another great man, namely, Zachariah Levita, who was indisputably a native of it, though he is commonly styled a Spaniard, because that city, as well as the rest of Languedoc, did then belong to Spain. He is said to have wrote a treatise intitled, the two Great Lights.

used

used any other severity against them. Wamba, king of the Goths in Languedoc, designed to have taken the same measures in his dominions, but met with a surprising opposition from the abbot Raymirus and the count of Thoulouse, who combined to protect them, and oppose his edict against them. Count Paul, a favourite of Wamba, was sent against them; but instead of suppressing, joined them, and had got himself crowned king at Narbonne; but being afterwards defeated and condemned by Wamba, both he and his accomplices, but especially the Jews, felt the dire effects of his resentment; his edict was put in full force, and they banished out of his dominions*.

A. D. 675.

Banished by Wamba.

The eighth century is chiefly celebrated for the conversion of Chozar, a heathen, to the Jewish religion; for it is about this time, that this wonderful transaction is pretended to have happened. Chozar, though a heathen, was a serious thoughtful prince; and a dream, or, as the fabulous account of it says, an angel, had made him so dissatisfied with his religion, that he resolved to seek after a better. He conversed with philosophers, Christians, Mohammedans, and Jews; and was at length, notwithstanding his innate contempt of that nation, convinced by a famed rabbi, named Sangari, that the Jewish was the only true religion; to which all others were at best but as a shadow to the substance, or the picture to the living original†. Several other learned matters he explained to him, so much to his satisfaction (C), that the king, afraid of alarming his idolatrous subjects, communicated his design of turning Jew to none but to his general, with whom he went, with the utmost privacy, to some mountainous desert towards the sea, where, night having overtaken them, they retired into a cavern. Here they found, to their great joy, some Jews celebrating their sabbath; and having there abjured his old religion, and received the

A. D. 740.

Chozar's conversion to Judaism.

The occasion and manner of it.

* Catel's Memoirs for the History of Languedoc, lib. iii. p. 308.
† Vide Lib. Cozri, par. ii. p. 83. & seq.

(C) The misfortune is, that this kingdom of Chozar is nowhere to be found, notwithstanding all the pains which some of the most zealous Jews have taken to be informed about it; and even the famed Jewish traveller of the twelfth century, Benjamin de Tudela,

who is not sparing of every thing, though ever so improbable, that makes for the credit of his nation, owns, that he could not find it out. Neither have any since, either of that or any other nation, been more successful in its discovery.

feal of circumcision, returned with the same privacy to his capital. He then prepared by degrees, and, with great address, the minds of his subjects to receive the news of his conversion; which spread afterwards so far, that those Jews among them, which had till then dissembled their religion, not only made now open profession of it, but assisted him in converting the rest of his kingdom. He sent soon after for the most learned Jews from other countries, to instruct those new converts, which amounted to above one hundred thousand, and vouchsafed himself to take one of the most famous among them to be his instructor. He betrayed at first a kind of inclination for the Karaites, as being more scrupulously attached to the law; but Sangari, who was a Thalmudist, brought him over to his side. From that time the original Jews grew in great esteem; and a tabernacle was erected exactly like that of Moses in the Wilderness; to which both they and all the Chozrean converts repaired to the Jewish worship. The king became rich, happy, and successful, triumphed over his enemies, discovered new treasures hidden in the earth, and enlarged his dominions with new and considerable conquests^u.

King Joseph's account of that kingdom, &c.

As the authenticity of this book was much questioned, a new legend was trumped up by the Jews about two hundred and fifty years after, which is no less liable to suspicion; namely a letter procured with no small difficulty by rabbi Chasdai, a man in high esteem at the court of Abdal-Rahman in Spain, from Joseph, king of Chozar, in which that prince, at his request, gives him an account of his religion, government, and country; which, if genuine, would prove, at least, that the Jewish religion was not only established in that kingdom under one of his predecessors, whom he names Bula; but likewise prove that it still continued to flourish in his dominions; though there be nothing in the description he gives of them, of their situation, limits, climate, cities, rivers, and product, that can direct a reader where to find them; so that it were in vain to dwell longer on that legend.

A. D. 705,
& seq.

Jews under the khalifs.

We shall therefore now turn our eyes to the Jewish tribes dispersed in the East, during this eighth and the following century; where, if we except the common calamities that necessarily attended the civil wars that then reigned between the khalifs, Abbassides, Ommiades, &c. of which a fuller

^u Vide Lib. Cozri, part ii. p 75, & seq.

account hath been given in their history, and in which Jews and Christians must be supposed to have shared; in other respects, we do not find that any of those monarchs disturbed their tranquility. The Jews in particular enjoyed full liberty of conscience, during the khalifat of Abdelmelech, about the beginning of the eighth century, and those of his successors, Al-walid and Solyman his brother. Their academies flourished, and their doctors enjoyed all their ancient privileges; only the Christians were obliged to fortify Ramah in Palestine, to suppress the inroads which the wild Arabs made into that province; and obstructed the concourse of pilgrims, of Jews, and other nations, into the Holy Land. They are supposed to have suffered some oppressions under the reign of his brother and successor Zeyd, though more from the rapaciousness of his ministers than the cruelty of that monarch. But their greatest change for the better was under the reigns of the Abbassides, upon the dissolution of that of the Ommiades under Mervan.

Ab, or Abbas Saffa, whom Elmakin calls Abulkabas, having gained the khalifat, removed the royal residence from Damascus to Cusah, situate on the Euphrates, about four days journey from Baghdad, or Babylon, and became thereby nearer neighbour to the Jews, and better acquainted with their academies. Almanzor, who succeeded his brother, a learned prince, and fond of all that were
A. D. 740,
750, 760,
770.
 so, without enquiring what nation or religion they were of, had invited a great number of them to his court; and among the rest, a good number of Jews, who took that opportunity to put their academies in a more flourishing condition than ever. R. R. Joseph and Samuel, surnamed the Gaon, or *Excellent*, presided at that of Pundebita, and were succeeded by Doræus, another Gaon, Ananias, and Malcha: that of Sora was governed by two learned professors, both named Judah; the one the son of Nachman, and the other of Otrinæus. R. Acha was no less famed for his high learning, and his treatise on the precepts of the law under the title of Shealthoth, or *Questions*; but having unfortunately quarrelled with Samuel, the then chief or prince of the captivity, he had the double mortification to see himself excluded from the title of Gaon; and soon after, upon the death of that chief, to see his own servant, Nithronius, raised to that dignity. Acha, unable to brook the affront, went and died in Judea, and left Nithronius to enjoy his principality; which he did during

A. D. 760. during the space of thirteen years ^w (D). About this time the Jews of Persia and Arabia had also the mortification to see an edict published against them by the imam Jaaffar, surnamed Zadic, or *the Just*; by which those who turned Moslems, became sole heirs of their whole family; and this induced great numbers of Jewish and other children to apostatize, in order to get possession of such estates, as they could otherwise have no title to ^z.

*Jaaffar's
edict a-
gainst the
Jews.*

A. D. 770. Almanzor was succeeded by Al Mohdi, in whose reign appeared the infamous Hakem, or, as the Arabian historian calls him, Almakaneus, an impious impostor, whom some have supposed to have been a Jew, but without any foundation; for which reason we should hardly have mentioned him, but that he had, in spite of his impious tenets, some of which seemed to be of Jewish extract, and found means to draw a great number of disciples after him, by seeming prodigies with which he amused them; but Mohdi sent some forces against him, which so closely besieged him in one of his fortresses, that he first poisoned all his disciples, and then flung himself into the fire, according to the last mentioned author; or, according to others, into a vessel of aqua fortis, which consumed all but his hair.

*Mohdi,
khalif.*

A. D. 786. Al Mohdi was succeeded by his brother Aaron, surnamed the Just, and a great lover of learned men; and so considerable a prince, that Charlemagne sent him an embassy, consisting of the two counts, Sigismond and Laufred, and Isaac, a Jew, who was to be the chief manager of that commission. Isaac was made choice of by that emperor, on account of the credit which the Jews were in at the khalif's court. However, as he loved to encourage learned men, without any partial regard to

*Aaron Kha-
lif.*

^w Gantz Tzemach, p. 124, & seq.
D'Herbelot. Bib. Orient.

^x Abulfarag. ubi supra,

(D) At this æra flourished the famous R. Ananus, who was likewise excluded the title of Gaon, though a man of great learning, on account of some material error they suspected in his doctrine, and not without good grounds; since he became the reviver and chief of the Sadducean sect, which was thought to have been long since buried under the ruins of Jerusalem: but it took, it seems, not only new life, but new vigour under that chief, and became formidable to that of the Pharisees (1).

(1) Gantz Tzemach David, p. 125, & seq.

their religion, and seldom travelled without having a hundred of them in his retinue, the Jews endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with him, chiefly by filling their academies with the most celebrated professors.

He was succeeded by his son Amin Al Musa Al Hadi, or, as Elmakin calls him, Abumusa, about the beginning of the ninth century; but this proved so weak a prince, and so addicted to his pleasures, that his brother Mamun soon found an opportunity to dethrone him, and being a great encourager of learning, caused all the best Jewish books to be translated into Arabic. This step was not at all relished by his subjects, who were ready to revolt upon it; but that consideration never hindered him from distinguishing learned men of all nations; among whom was a celebrated Jewish astronomer, who had been in high repute ever since the khalifat of Almanzor, but was now esteemed at this court as the phoenix of learning, and, as such, highly beloved by Mamun, during whose reign the Jewish academies of Sora and Pundebita abounded with men of letters. It was about this time also, that the famous impostor Mooffa, or Moses, the son of Amran, as he called himself, began to appear, and pretended to be that great law-giver of the Jews newly risen from the dead.

A. D. 831.

Mamun was succeeded by his brother Al Motasem, who, among other of his victories, defeated a famous impostor named Babek, who declaimed against all other religions but his own, which chiefly consisted in pleasure and jollity; and which was become so powerful, that he waged war against Jews, Christians, and Moslems, and was with difficulty overcome by the united forces of that khalif. His successor, named Al Wathek, became a bitter enemy to the Jews on two accounts: 1st. Because they had been guilty of some great frauds in the management of the finances which had been committed to their care in his predecessor's reign. And, 2dly, Because they would not receive the Koran, for which refusal they were heavily taxed, and forced to pay very large fines into his treasury. Motavel, or Motawakel, who succeeded him, proved still more severe against them, and not only obliged them to wear leathern girdles by way of distinction, and, on the same account, forbade them to ride on any but asses or mules, with iron stirrups, but he also stripped them of all their

A. D. 841.

*Persecuted
under Wa-
thek.*

A. D. 846.

*Under Mo-
tavel.*

† Sangalens de Gest. Carol. Magn. lib. ii. Eginard, Vit. Car. Magn. p. 7, & al.

honours, titles, and places^z. What was still worse, his edict not only extended through his empire, but into the neighbouring states; and this mark of infamy hath, more or less, subsisted ever since in those countries that are under the Turks, we may add, in several parts of Europe, and under Christian princes, to this day. Motawakel's successors, whose reigns were short and violent, followed the same severe methods against the Jews; so that they bought those little remains of liberty, at the expence of very heavy taxes; and it was in the reign of Mohammed, the last of them, who was a weak and effeminate prince, that Ahmet, then governor of Egypt, revolted, and founded a new dynasty there; by which that province was dismembered from the empire of the khalifs about the end of the ninth century.

A. D. 869.

*Ahmet's
revolt.*

We come now to the Jews in the West, that is in the empire, in Spain, Italy, France, and other parts of Europe, during the eighth and ninth centuries. The empire was at this time miserably torn by the civil dissensions between the Iconoclasts, and the image-worshippers, in which the Jews were accused of having had a considerable hand, if they were not the first movers of it. However that be, it is plain that the new emperor declared himself no less zealous against the Jews than against images; for both they and the Manichees were ordered by him to turn Christians, under the severest penalties; only the latter being more tenacious of their heresy, suffered themselves to be burnt for it, whilst the Jews took their old method of saving their lives by dissembling. But as the patrons for images gained their point, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the emperor and his followers, they obliged the Jews, whose sincerity they had no great reason to rely on, to subscribe to a formulary, by which they acknowledged themselves worshippers of the cross and holy images, and prayed to God to strike them with Gehazi's leprosy, and Cain's tremor, if they did not do it from their hearts^a.

A. D. 769.

In Syria.

They found themselves still more involved in those devastations which Abdallah, the son of Ali, was making at Jerusalem and Syria, and, among other hardships, were forced, as well as the Christians, to be branded in the hand, to distinguish them from Moslems. The latter did indeed

^z D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 640.
sub A. D. 759, & seq.

^a Theophan. ubi sup.

retire upon it to the Roman territories; but the Jews not only submitted to it, but chose to follow Abdallah's army, in order to enrich themselves with the plunder of the Christians: for that prince, we are told, had always a considerable number of them in his army, to whom he sold all the church plunder he took ^d.

They fared much better under Nicephorus, who succeeded Leo about the beginning of the ninth century, and who likewise declared himself for the Iconoclasts; for which reason it probably was that the other side branded him with having forsaken God, to put himself under the care of the Manichees and Attingans, a kind of diviners or soothsayers; but, according to the language of the Anti-Iconoclasts, they were persons that dealt with the devil, and could by their art make kingdoms flourish, and princes victorious (E). However, the latter were, against all probability, pretended to be of Jewish extract; and it was thought sufficient proof of their being so, that Nicephorus protected their nation, and suffered them to live quietly. They were still more in favour under his successor Michael, surnamed the Stammerer, who is by some represented as half Jew, and by others branded with the odious appellation of the Sink of all Religions, because he had imbibed something from each, during his younger days. However, though he tolerated them all, and seems to have shewn a particular regard to the Jews, yet, as he was professedly a Christian, and orthodox, and never swerved from them, it is not unlikely that his being an Iconoclast hath been the main cause of all that slander.

A. D. 810.

*Favoured
by Nicepho-
rus and
Michael.*

We know but little of the condition of the Jews, either in Italy or Spain, during these two centuries; except that in the latter, a Jew, named Serenus, taking advantage of the feuds which reigned between Spain and France, pre-claimed himself the Messiah, and drew great numbers of

A. D. 724.

*Deceived
by a false
Messiah.*

^d Apud Goar Euchol. in Theoph. p. 149.

(E) It is not easy to say who either these Manichees or Attingans were. Some make them to be the same, under two different names, and to belong to the heretical sect of the Manichees, and to have used some kind of sacraments, &c. Zonaras represents them as a kind of soothsayers, one of whom fore-

told Michael's succession to the throne, after Nicephorus. But that prince having declared against images, the Jews were again accused as the authors of it, and the Attingans affirmed to be a set of conjurers belonging to that nation, merely to brand the Iconoclasts.

his nation to follow him into Judea, where he was to fix his kingdom. How far that deceiver led them, we cannot find; except that Ambisa, the then governor in those parts, took the opportunity to seize on all the estates and effects which those infatuated people had left behind them: those that did not perish by the way, returned to their habitations, where they had leisure to bewail their folly and loss^e. Here also, in the reign of Abdal-Rahman, or Abderama, who had been acknowledged khaliff in the West, and built a famed mosque at Cordova, flourished the famed R. Judah, a man of great learning, who published a philosophical treatise, to shew why the sea did not overflow the land, which was highly applauded by the learned. He likewise translated several books out of Arabic into Hebrew, and compiled a dictionary in the former language: all which circumstances shew not only that the sciences flourished there among the Jews, but likewise that the first khalifs favoured them more than they did the Christians, whom they obliged to build the stately mosque above mentioned, with the materials they had taken from them^f.

A. D. 763.

*R. Judah,
a learned
Jew.*

*Invite the
Arabs into
Languedoc.*

Languedoc being at this time in the hands of the Visigoths, was much infested with the incursions of the Arabs, who are said to have been in league with, if not invited thither by, the Jews, and to have engaged themselves, by their help, to massacre all the Christians. They are likewise accused of having invited the Saracens out of Spain, to free them from the tyranny which they suffered under the bishop of Tholosa, who coming accordingly, took Narbonne and Tholosa in their way, and penetrated as far as Lyons, laying waste the country with fire and sword. Charlemagne having afterwards defeated the Saracens, and retaken Tholosa, resolved to punish the treacherous Jews, who had been the authors of so much bloodshed; but being at length softened by their groans and cries, he commuted their punishment, and only executed the heads of them. He condemned the rest of those that dwelt in that city, to receive a box on the ear, three times a year, at the gates of one of the churches, which should be named by the bishop, and to pay a perpetual fine of thirteen pounds weight of wax. The greatest part of this accusation, and of the facts alleged to support it, hath been refuted by a late historian^g: and indeed the mild behaviour

Their punishment.

^e Marca Hist. de Bearn. lib. ii. ch. 2. ^f Id. ibid. p. 138, & seq. ^g Basnag. ubi sup. lib. ix. ch. 3. §. 8, & seq.

of the emperor towards the Jews, shews nothing less than his supposing them the betrayers of that city, or the authors of the Saracen incursion.

They were still more favoured under Lewis, surnamed the Debonair, whose chief physician was a Jew, named Sedecias, whom some historians have represented as one of the greatest magicians in the world^h. He was in such high credit with that prince, that all the courtiers were glad to gain his and his countrymen's friendship, with the noblest presents. They had the liberty of building new synagogues, and obtained such singular privileges, as could not fail of inspiring them with uncommon insolence, as well as of raising jealousy in the Christians, as it accordingly happened, more particularly in the diocese of Lyonsⁱ. Agobard, the bishop, did not content himself with forbidding them to buy any Christian slaves, and keep their Sabbath, but interdicted likewise, under some frivolous pretences, the Christians from buying wine, or dealing with them during the time of Lent. The Jews made no difficulty to complain of the bishop's edicts to the emperor, who sent three commissaries to Lyons to enquire into the truth; upon which they were immediately restored to their ancient privileges, to the no small mortification of the bishop, who, though otherwise a moderate man, and averse to persecution, could hardly be persuaded of the reality of the emperor's orders, though signed with his own seal. In vain he invented some new accusations against them, and sent fresh remonstrances signed by two other bishops. Evrard, the chief commissary, remained firm to the Jewish interest, and all the allegations against them were rejected at court, as false and groundless; indeed some of them were so ridiculous as to cast no small reflection on the blind zeal of those prelates.

A. D. 815.

Their credit under Lewis the Debonair.

Disturbed by the bishop of Lyons.

Agobard, seeing all his pious endeavours thus frustrated, resolved to take a journey to court, in order to solicit that prince more effectually against the Jews; but he failed of success, being only admitted to an audience of leave, wherein he was permitted to go back as he came, without any farther satisfaction, so that he was even afraid of baptizing the heathen slaves that belonged to the Jews, for fear of exasperating the court against him, though he offered to pay them the full price for them^k. But as he durst

His untimely zeal suppressed.

^h Danden de Suspect. de Hæresi. Trithem Chron. Hirsaugiens. ⁱ Vid. Agobard. de Insolent. Judeor. ^k Agobard Consult. ad Procures de Baptism. Judaic. Vide & Basnag. ubi sup. seq. 14. & seq.

not venture upon this last step without the emperor's leave, he sent to beg his consent. What answer he had we cannot learn; but if one may guess by the dreadful curses he pronounces against the Jewish nation, in his letter to the great and learned Nebudius, bishop of Narbonne, one may conclude that it was not such as he liked; and the spleen which he vents in that uncharitable epistle, was the less excusable, because it not only rendered the Jews the more flourishing and insolent, but was like to have caused a general defection; inasmuch that people not only professed openly that they were to be respected as the posterity of Abraham and the prophets, but began to conform to the Jewish rites in many instances (F), that were quite scandalous, and a reproach to Christianity.

*Under
Charles
the Bald;*

Their case was not quite so agreeable under Charles, surnamed the Bald, when Remisius, bishop of that diocese, caused some of his clergy to preach every Saturday in their synagogues; by which means so great a number of their children were like to have been converted, that they were forced to send them away to Vienne in Dauphine, to Macon and Arles in Provence, and other places, where they were more numerous. The bishop sent a complaint to court, and begged of that prince to send orders to the bishop of Arles, &c. to follow his method; representing, that the conversion of those children was a greater act of charity than saving them out of the lion's mouth. In all probability Charles consented to his request, for numbers of Jewish children were baptized; all by their own free choice, and the emperor was soon after poisoned by Sedecias, his Jewish physician, lately mentioned, who is supposed to have been hired to that vile deed by those of his own nation¹. They are likewise accused of having had a great hand in the troubles that happened under this reign, by the incursion of the Normans into several provinces, particularly that of Aquitaine, where they were very numerous; and though it is likely the French authors have

*accused of
assisting the
Normans,
and other
treasons.*

¹ Flor. Collect. de Baptis. Hæbr. Dachery Specileg. vet. Script. tom. xii, p. 52.

(F) Thus we are told that some of them began to celebrate the Sabbath, instead of the Lord's-day; that many of them chose to go and hear the Jewish rabbies declaim in their synagogues, rather than to

hear the sermons preached in their own churches; and that a deacon named Purho, or Pando, belonging to the court, had renounced the church, and gone over to the synagogue.

charged

charged them with more crimes than they were guilty of, such as betraying the cities of Bourdeaux, Perigues, &c. which those barbarians plundered and burnt^t, whilst the Jews are said to have been exempted from the common calamity: yet there is no doubt to be made, that they resented the loss of so many of their children, though no violence was used in converting them, and that they would willingly have joined with any other nation, by whom they hoped to be freed from such a sensible hardship. They were still liable to the ignominious sentence passed against them by Charlemagne, of being buffeted three times a year at the church door, which was not indeed executed on all the Tholosan Jews, but was in time confined to their syndic or head magistrate, who received that punishment in the name of the rest. We may add, that though their credit was very high at court, during the life of the treacherous Sedecias, yet they were liable to many insults and affronts from the populace in cities at a distance from it. Thus, for instance, those of Beziers in Languedoc, were yearly driven about with volleys of stones, from Palm-Sunday to the Tuesday in Easter-Week^u, which indignity they at length redeemed by a tribute which they paid to the bishop of the place.

It is now time to close the ninth century, and to pass on to the tenth and eleventh, which we shall be forced to join, to avoid breaking off the thread of the narration. Those of the East were, during that time, if we may believe their historians, in a most flourishing condition; especially with respect to learning, which began now to revive among them, and the vast number of their doctors, that then flourished, whilst almost the rest of the world, especially the Christian countries, were buried in darkness and ignorance; insomuch that the Jewish academies, not being capable of containing the overgrown multitude of their scholars, they were obliged to build a new seminary. They even add, that they never had, in any age, before or since, so many and such excellent doctors as now. It proved, however, but a short-lived glory, partly through the feuds that arose between the chiefs of the captivity and their professors and doctors; but more especially by the zeal of the crusaders, who made a merit of massacring all the Jews, before they went upon the conquest of

State of the Jews during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Learning begins to flourish.

^t Du Moulin Hist. Normand. p. 38. incert. Auct. de Gest. Normand. ap. Du Chesne, p. 2.
^u Catel Hist. Languedoc, lib. iii.

the Holy Land: these calamities joined together, caused the total downfall of their academies, and the utter expulsion of the nation from those eastern countries, and obliged them to take refuge in Spain, France, and other parts of Europe.

Their academies ruined by their dissensions.

David, the chief of the captivity, a man of a haughty ambitious spirit, had raised the prerogative of that dignity beyond all his predecessors, and reigned as absolute as any eastern monarch; a despotism which raised such dissensions between him and the chiefs of the academies, as quickly hastened their downfall *. That of Pundebita had chosen R. Misbither for their chief: David immediately appointed another; and the jealousy which reigned between those two arose to such a height, during the space of five years, that the only expedient they could think of to put an end to it, was to erect two schools in that place, though it had a contrary effect. That of Sora had scarcely raised itself from the low degree it had formerly sunk into, when David sent likewise thither one R. Jom Tob, a man so ignorant and unfit, that the academy must have been soon abandoned, had not they sent for a proper person from Egypt, to preside over, and raise the character of it. This was R. Saadiah, a man of great learning and abilities, who made it his first care to explode the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which had gone current for many ages, not only among the Persians and Arabs, but even among the Jews. He had already made some progress in it, when the prince of the captivity sent for him to subscribe to a new regulation, which he thinking repugnant to the Jewish laws, stiffly refused to sign, and thereby made him so far his enemy, that he was forced to retire, and seek for shelter in some place out of his reach, where he continued till the breach between them was happily made up (G).

R. Saadiah opposed by the chief.

The

* Gantz Tzemach, p. 130.

(G) This refusal, we are told, so exasperated the Jewish chief, that he sent at first his son to him, threatening to have his head broke, if he did not obey; with which menaces Saadiah having acquainted his scholars, they raised an uproar about the prince, in which they gave him some severe blows. The academy was soon divided into two parties, in which that of Saadiah so far prevailed, that David was deposed from his dignity, and his brother Joseph appointed in his room. It was not long however, before David got himself

The Jewish nation was at this time so numerous and powerful, that they reckoned no less than nine hundred thousand of them in the city of Pherutz-Shiboor (H). This number may probably have been greatly exaggerated by the Jewish writers. However, here it was that they had founded a new academy, at the head of which was the famed R. Sherira, under whom it flourished about thirty years. He was a man of great learning, but a mortal enemy to the Christians, especially to the monks; and was, on that account, highly respected by his scholars, and the whole nation. Being at length worn out with age, he left the chair to his son Hay, whom the Jews styled the most Excellent of all the Excellent. The rest of his character and writings the reader may see in the margin (I). He is said to have been the last, as well as the greatest,

Jews very numerous.

A.D. 1037.

Found a new academy.

himself restored, and Saadiah was obliged to flee and seek out for a safe retreat, where he continued seven whole years.

It was during this recess that he composed the greatest part of those books which were since published after his death, and go under his name. He found means, nevertheless, to be reconciled to his haughty prince, and was again restored to the chair; and having outlived him by several years, enjoyed it quietly, and with great success. However, the deposition of the chief shews that the dignity was neither absolute nor unalienable.

(H) This city, whose name signifies the *Breach of Sapor*, stood about five miles distant from Babylon, and is by some supposed to have been built by Sapor II. king of Persia, a great conqueror, who built many cities in that kingdom. Others ascribe the honour of it to rabbi Shiabour or Sapor XV, though he only founded the academy of Pherutz-

Shiboor (S).

(I) He is pretended to be lineally descended from king David, and as such bore the lion in his arms, as did all the kings of Judah, pursuant to Jacob's prophecy concerning that tribe. But what hath rendered him still more famous, was the number and variety of his writings, such as his treatise on buying or selling, pledges, wages, and on the interpretation of dreams, which last was printed at Venice, among some other pieces of R. Solomon Jarchi, on the same subject, an. 1623. At Amsterdam, an. 1636, and 1642. And at Wettersdorff, with the *Shahare Zion*, or *Gates of Zion*, an. 1690. His book intitled *Mishphete Shebugboth*, or judgments on oaths, in twenty sections, printed at Venice, an. 1602, in which those on buying and selling, above mentioned, were likewise printed there. His poetic treatise, intitled *Maf-tar Hashekel*, or on the form-

(8) Vid. D. Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. sub. voc.

greatest, of all the Gaons, or Sublimes, and to have presided at that academy about forty years. He died in the year 1037, and in the 69th of his age *.

Jews persecuted.

His successor Hezekias, chief of the captivity, was more unfortunate under that khalif, as the Jews were under him; he was put to death with all his family, except two of his sons, who fled into Spain, by the time he had enjoyed that dignity about two years: after his death, the academies were ordered to be shut up, and the learned doctors obliged to retire into the West; whither they were followed by the rest of that nation, to avoid further persecution. About the beginning of Hezekias's reign, happened that famed schism between the sons of Asher and Naphthali, which is looked upon to have given birth to the first Massorites. They are at least the first grammarians that took upon them to revise and correct the sacred books. However that may be, the persecution, which was partly owing to the civil discords that then reigned among the khalifs; and partly to the jealousy which they conceived of the chief of the captivity, and of their raising some revolt, proved so severe and violent, as not only to occasion the destruction of their family, the shutting up of all the academies; but likewise to oblige the rest of the Jewish nation to seek for refuge, some in the deserts of Arabia, and others in the provinces of the West.

The rise of a new schism.

Expelled from the east. Retire into Spain, &c. End of their princes.

* Gantz ibid. sub. A. M. 4797. Jehudah, p. 307.

γ Solomon, Ben Virg. Sheveth.

ing of the understanding, printed at Paris, an. 1562, and at Venice, an. 1579. His Pirush Shemoth, forty-two and seventy-two, or an exposition of the name of God, written with forty-two and with seventy-two letters. And lastly his questions on the book called Jetzirah, or a treatise of the formation, is remarkable for shewing the manner in which the great name of God was anciently written at Jerusalem. R. Ray was a great cabalist,

and hath not only explained the terms of that art, but his treatise of the voice of God, with power, is full of cabalistical principles. His reputation was so great among those of his nation, that they flocked to him from all parts, to consult and hear him; and he was chosen chief of the academy of Pundebita, as well as of that of Pherutz-shiaboor, in which last he had succeeded his father, in the 29th year of his age (9).

(9) Vide Wolf. Bibl. Hæbr. p. 345. Vide Nofos Chochmah, p. 195. Gantz Tzemach David ad An. M. 4757, seu Chr. 997. Shalsheth Hakkabalah, p. 37.

And here it is that most authors place the total extinction of the dignity of the princes of the captivity; tho' if we may believe the Jewish travellers Benjamin de Tudela, and rabbi Petachiah, who visited those parts in the twelfth century, they still found one of those chiefs among the dispersed Jews in Persia, who was called Samuel, and boasted himself lineally descended from the great prophet of that name. As for the academies, especially those of Sora, Pundebita, and Pharutz-Shiboor, it plainly appears that they were abolished in the year 1009; and if any schools were left in those parts that assumed the name of academies, they were too poor and obscure to deserve it. *Persecuted in Egypt.* We have now nothing more to mention of them in the East, except that short-lived persecution which they suffered in Egypt, under the reign of Hakem, who pretended to set up a new religion, opposite to all others, and which was that of the Drusi, little known to us, if it was not the same with that of the ancient Druids, but which he had blended with a vast number of the most extravagant and impious notions not worth repeating; which he affirmed to have had from the Deity. The vast number of disciples which he gained among the heathens, made him resolve to persecute the Christians and Jews, as the only sects that opposed his doctrine; the latter of whom he obliged to wear a mark of distinction, and ordered all their synagogues to be shut up, and them to be cudgelled into compliance: but as he was of an inconstant temper, *Restored, A.D. 1026.* he soon changed his mind, and restored them to their ancient liberty * before he died (K). But it is now high time to pass into the West.

* See the Kitab Almakid, translated by M. De la Croix, & D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. sub. voc.

(K) Hakem was murdered by order of his sister, A. D. 1026, in the mountain of Moccata, to which he was wont to repair every morning, under pretence of holding an intercourse with the Deity. Hamzah, who had been his master, took the advantage of the privacy of the fact, to persuade his disciples, that he had only disappeared for a time, and would return again after a while; and the Drusi, his disciples, who are now masters of Mount-Lebanus, of Berythus, and some other cities in Syria, expect him as much as the Jews do their Messiah (1).

(1) D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 412. Kitab Himikaid, translated by Peter de la Croix.

We

Jews in Spain in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

We begin with Spain, where the wars between the Saracens and the Christians, which reigned during the tenth century, gave them such time to breathe, that their schools were in a flourishing condition under the khalifats of Abd'Allah and Abd'Al'Ramah, the latter of whom reigned above fifty years with great success, whilst the Jews grew numerous and wealthy, and abounded with learned doctors, both Spaniards and of other nations.

Moses Sackcloth chosen chief.

Among the latter was the celebrated Moses, surnamed Cloathed with Sackcloth, because, in his coming from the Eastern countries, he had been taken by some corsairs, and sold to the Jews of Cordova, who paid his ransom out of charity. Moses being still destitute of every thing, even of cloaths to cover his nakedness, wrapped himself about with a sack, and in that despicable guise used daily to go and hide himself in some corner of the school, to hear their lectures. It was not long, however, before he gave them such pregnant proofs of his learning and merit, by his questions and answers, that the then professor yielded the chair to him of his own accord. He was soon after chosen chief of the nation, with a considerable income; but his desire of returning to his native country had nearly deprived them of him, had not Hakem, the khalif then reigning, put a stop to his going, for some reasons of state, and retained him to explain the Talmud to the Spanish Jews, and to determine all their controversies. Moses, according to the Jewish style, reigned with great credit and applause, till the year 997, and left the throne, or chair, to his son Enoch.

A. D. 968.

A. D. 997.

Talmud translated into Arabic.

Hasheyim, who succeeded his father Hakem at Cordova, went still farther, and caused the Talmud to be translated into Arabic, whether out of curiosity to know what that so much boasted book contained, or perhaps rather to render it more common there, and to prevent the Jews from going so frequently to Baghdad or Jerusalem. R. Joseph, one of Moses's disciples, was appointed to preside over the version, and succeeded so well in it, that it made him quite proud and arrogant, so that he strenuously opposed the election of Enoch to the chair. Nevertheless, Enoch's party not only carried it against him, but caused him to be excommunicated; upon which he first applied to Hasheyim; but he refusing to meddle in the dispute, Joseph was forced to leave Spain, and took the road to Baghdad, in hopes of being protected by the famed R. Hay, who was then chief there: but he also sent him word that he could not receive a man who had been ex-
com-

R. Joseph excommunicated.

communicated by the Spanish synagogue; so that he was obliged to retire to Damascus, where he died some years after, without being able to obtain a reversion of his sentence ^a.

The wars in Spain continuing to rage during the eleventh century, the Jews reaped no small benefit, during the first four years of it; in which R. Samuel Levi, being secretary and prime minister to the king of Granada, was by him created chief of the Jewish nation, and used all his credit to promote the interest and honour of it, even to the sending for some of the most learned doctors from Babylon, Africa, and Egypt, to whom he was a very liberal benefactor. He had even the good fortune to see himself succeeded by his own son, in all his dignities, though his being a haughty and arrogant youth was no small grief to his father, who was particularly famed for his humility and sweetness of temper, even in his most prosperous state: but their tranquillity was soon disturbed, by an unexpected accident. One rabbi Halevi, a learned and zealous Jew, having undertaken to convert the Moslems to the Jewish religion, to which the version of the Talmud in Arabic lately mentioned, was a great help, roused the jealousy of the Granadan king, who could not but resent so bold an attempt, against the then established religion. He therefore caused the Jewish rabbi to be apprehended and hanged; after which example, he began such a fierce persecution of that nation, that about one thousand five hundred families of them, who lived within his dominions, felt the dreadful effects of it. This proved the more severe, as they were, by a long series of prosperity, become very wealthy and powerful ^b; and because there was reason to fear that the other princes of Spain would have followed his example; nevertheless, they had the good luck to see it quickly stopt, and without spreading itself out of that kingdom.

They would have undergone a more severe and destructive oppression, under king Ferdinand, who, at the instigation of his bigotted wife, was going to sanctify his war against the Saracens by the extirpation of the Jews; had not the bishops, and even the pope, Alexander II. put a stop to his furious zeal, by publicly opposing and condemning it: but what most probably extricated them out of all danger from that monarch and his successor, was the revolution which the Moors occasioned in Africa,

A.D. 1027.

*R. Samuel
Levi chief
of the
Jews.*

A.D. 1055.

A.D. 1046.
*Persecuted
in Granada.*

*Ferdinand
opposed by
the bishops.*

^a Ganiz Tzemach, p. 130.

^b Solom. Ben Virg. p. 8.

A.D. 1080.

A.D. 1096.

*K. Peter
refuses to
persecute
them.*

*Men of
learning.*

in consequence of which Alfonso, distressed on every side, found himself obliged to befriend and care for, instead of oppressing them; in order to make them serviceable to him with their purses and assistance. Accordingly, they were promoted by him to considerable posts, and obtained such other privileges, that pope Gregory quite disapproved of them, though his censures could not prevail upon him to retract them. His grandson Peter was no less deaf to the remonstrances of Nicholas de Valentia, who endeavoured to divert him from joining in the crusade or holy war, lately declared; by representing to him that he had too many dangerous enemies in his bosom, meaning the Jews, to need to go so far to seek new foes. He insisted in particular, that they hated the Christians to such a degree, that they never met them without ejaculating curses on their heads: he added many other articles equally ridiculous, to which the king, who was averse to persecution, only lent a deaf ear. However, the moderation of this prince did not save the Jews from being massacred by the crusaders, in several other parts of Spain, by way of begging a blessing on their holy expedition.

Notwithstanding all these persecutions, Spain produced a great number of learned rabbies, during the eleventh century, particularly the celebrated Samuel Cophis, a native of Cordova, who published a commentary on the Pentateuch, the manuscript of which is still extant in the Vatican library. Those who have examined it, commend it as an excellent work, only too full of allegories. He died A. D. 1034. Soon after him flourished no less than five Isaacs at once, all of them famed for their writings (L).

But

(L) One of them was called Isaac Alphesi, because he came over from Africa, and out of the kingdom of Fez, into Spain, probably with the Morabethons, or, as Mariana calls them, Almoravides, who were descended from the Arabian Homerites, who became Christians in the reign of Justinian. His epitaph written in hexameters, was to this purport: "Let it be engraved on the stone, that the light of this world is gone out, and that the

foundation of wisdom is deposited within this tomb. Daughters of Sion come and weep; the world is buried and stricken with blindness; weep and sigh, for the ark and the tables of the law are broken in pieces with this doctor (1)."

Another was the son of Baruch, who deduced his genealogy from Baruch, Jeremiah's secretary, and pretended that his family had passed into Spain at the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. He was such a lover

and

(1) Ap. Dav. Gantz. ubi supra, p. 134.

But this increase of learned men did not fail of increasing *Feuds and* their old feuds and quarrels, especially between them and *broils* their disciples: for these having gained a taste of polite *among* learning, wanted to dive still deeper into the arts and *them.* sciences, which inquiries their masters were no less desirous and careful to prevent. We have had frequent oc- *Prophane* casion, through the course of their history, to observe *learning* that they bred them up in a singular contempt for all *condemned* kind of foreign learning; and we find, in the apostil' to *by some.* the text of the Mishna, a severe curse intailed on him that breeds up a boy, and him that suffers his son to learn the Greek tongue; as if the one was equally impure as the other: but by this time they found it next to impossible to suppress either the knowledge of foreign tongues; or prevent many of their studious disciples from diving into their books, and conceiving a singular liking for polite literature; so that the professors now began to divide themselves on that account, some by endeavouring to suppress and condemn that prophane curiosity, others by restraining it within some limits, and a third sort, by giving it its full scope and liberty. These last so far prevailed, that the young students began to apply themselves so closely to the study of the mathematics and other sciences, that Spain, in a little time, produced a great number of learned men among them^c.

It proved far otherwise in France, where the scarcity of rabbies of any note was such, during these two *Few learn-* centuries, that we do not read of above five or six that *ed in* distinguished themselves for their learning. The most *France.* celebrated of them was R. Gershom, or Gersion, who, *R. Ger-* whether a native of France, or of Mentz in Germany, *shom.* published there his book of Constitutions, which, though it was a long time before it could meet with the approbation of the rest of the Jewish doctors, yet it was at length received as a body of excellent laws, about the year 1204, and its author dignified with the title of Light of the

^c Gantz & al. ubi supra.

and master of the mathematics, greatly esteemed, till his death, that the king of Grenada called which happened anno 1007. him the Mathematician. and The other three were likewise heard him read several lectures men of learning, but of the on that science at court. He same proud heaven. continued in that country,

French

French captivity^d. He is affirmed by some to have died anno 1028, and by others forty years later. So that those who pretend that he flourished in the ninth century, are egregiously mistaken.

*The sham
Josephus
a native of
France, in
this cen-
tury.*

But among the rest of the French rabbies of this century, we must not omit the author of the pretended history of Josipp Ben Gorion, whom the Jews have substituted for the Greek historian of that name. This Jewish impostor, to gain the greater credit with his readers, begins with giving himself out for a royal prince and priest of the Jewish nation, in whose person Providence had united those two dignities to war against their enemies. He calls himself the Joseph full of the spirit of wisdom and understanding, of counsel, fortitude, knowledge, and of fear of the Lord; who sacrificed his life to the defence of the sanctuary and people of God^e. He adds, that one of his soldiers one day cried aloud to him, "Thou art the man of God. Blessed be the God of Israel who hath created the soul that animates thee, and hath endowed thee with such extraordinary wisdom!" And when taken by the Romans, their army asked each other with tears, "Is that the person so admired among the Jews, and so dreaded by the Romans? How is he caught, who was alone once able to inspire our army with terror, and hath filled the universe with the fame of his valiant deeds?" Titus himself was no less taken with his person and courage, and raised him above all the priests and Levites of his nation.

*His history
fabulous.*

His imposture succeeded so well by his pirating from the Greek and original Josephus, such facts as were to his purpose, misrepresenting and adding others, and couching his history in the Hebrew tongue, whereby the Greek copy became not only neglected but suspicious, and at length rejected as a forgery by those of his nation. So that we need not wonder if the generality of them have since extolled it to the skies, and so many learned men among the Christians have been deceived by it. As to the fuller confutation of the author and his history, and the many falsehoods, contradictions, and absurdities, which plainly prove its forgery, we shall, for brevity's sake, refer our readers to the authors quoted in the margin^f, and

^d Bartoloc. ubi supra, tom. iv. p. 69, & seq. Wolf Bibl. Hæbr. sub voc.

^e Vide Ladisl. Decret. lib. i. cap. 10. ap. Verbocz. Corp. jur. Hungar.

^f Colodan Reg. Decr. lib. i. ad an. 1100, ap. Verbocz. ubi supra, p. 65.

proceed with a detail of the Jewish affairs, as they were circumstanced in other nations in Europe.

We begin to find them flourishing in Hungary towards the latter end of the eleventh century, when St. Ladislaus, who then reigned, convened a synod, in which were made several regulations, importing, that, if a Jew should marry, or, as the act words it, "sibi associaverit," a Christian woman, or buy a Christian slave, they should be set at liberty, and the price given for them be confiscated to the bishop^e. His son Coloman being come to the throne, forbad them, by a new law, to use the Christian slaves, but permitted them to buy and cultivate lands, on condition they used no other but Pagan slaves, and settled only in such places as were under the jurisdiction of a bishop^b. These two laws shew the Jews to have been numerous and powerful in that kingdom.

A D 1092.

Jews in Hungary.

They were no less so in Germany and Bohemia, where they had built many stately synagogues in most of their noted cities, particularly at Treves, Cologne, Mentz, and Francfort. They had settled in the latter ever since the tenth century, when they assisted the Christians against the irruptions of the Barbarians, and for which they were allowed to have a synagogue there also (M). They under-

Success in Hungary and Bohemia.

^a Josippon seu Joseph Ben Gorion. Hist. Jud. libri vi. p. 309 & 326. ^b De hoc vide Basnag. Hist. des Juifs, lib. ix. an. 6. pass.

(M) We are told, however, that they were so much terrified by a variety of prodigies which seemed to threaten the destruction of the world, that having lost all hopes of the coming of the Messiah, they for the most part embraced Christianity.

However, those prodigies had not converted such numbers of the Jews, but that there was still left a sufficient number to stir up the zeal of a priest named Gotesæl, who, at the head of fifteen thousand banditti, committed the most horrid outrages against them, and was supported and encou-

raged in it by some of the crowned heads. He had already ravaged Franconia, and entered Hungary, where he and his followers plundered the Christians as well as the Jews, ravished their wives, and gave themselves up to all kind of debaucheries; and he was surprised in the midst of them, and slain with the greatest part of his troops. The landgrave of Lininghen having taken it in his head to follow his steps, and declare himself the persecutor of the Jews, had likewise made some havock among them, and penetrated as far as the Hungarian borders, when he

A.D. 1096.

*Protected
by the em-
peror.*

went indeed, in several parts, some grievous persecutions from the zealots, such as those we have hinted under the last note; but the emperor Henry having declared himself for them, they were, not only resettled in their ancient abodes, but had, by his orders, all the goods refunded which they had been plundered of. This indemnification occasioned fresh complaints and accusations, they being charged with having magnified their losses, in order to enrich themselves by a more plentiful restitution.

A.D. 1094.

*Massacred
by the cru-
saders.*

But what most contributed to kindle the heat and fury of the zealots against them, was the march of the crusaders through Cologn, Mentz, Worms, Spires, and other cities of Germany, where they committed fresh massacres, from April to July, on those that refused to be converted. The Jewish historians reckon but five thousand that were either butchered or drowned; but the number of those that saved themselves by dissembling, was very considerableⁱ. They are so far from having exaggerated the particulars of that persecution, that the Christians make the number of the former much greater, and the manner of it even more dreadful^k (N). The tempo-

ⁱ Shalsheleth Hakkabalah. sub A. M. 4856, p. 110. ^k Vide Addit. ad Lambert. Schaffnaburgh. Pistor. Hist. Germ. tom. iii. ad A. D. 1089.

he likewise was surpris'd and defeated by the brave Hungarians, who were come to put a stop to his farther progress (1).

(N) These inform us that no less than fourteen hundred were burnt at Mentz, and that the disorder which happened on that occasion, was the cause of one half of that city's being reduced to ashes. Those of Worms went to beg the bishop's protection, who refused to grant it, unless they turned Christians; and as the people were very eager, they gave themselves so little time to deliberate, that the most intimi-

dated of them immediately accepted of baptism; whilst others, more desperate, put an end to their own lives. Much the same tragedy was acted at Triers, or Treves, where the very women, at the sight of the crusaders, murdered their own children, telling them that it was much better thus to dispatch and send them into Abraham's bosom, than to leave them to the mercy of the Christians. Others filling their pockets with stones, flung themselves and children into the Rhine (2).

(1) Moulin's Chron. German. lib. xv. & xvi. p. 123—126. Pistor. Hist. Germ. tom. iii. sub. A. D. 1089.

(2) Vide Hist. Germ. & al. supra citat.

rizers only made a shew of Christianity till the storm was over, and all relapsed into Judaism by the next year. The bishop of Spire, more humane than the rest, not only protected those that took refuge under him, but caused some of their persecutors to be hanged. The Bavarian annalists tell us, that above twelve thousand were slain in their country; and all agree that the number of those that perished in other parts of Germany was almost infinite.

The next crusade, which was published fifty years after, might have proved no less violent against them, had not the furious zeal of the hermit Rodolphus, who preached it up, and promoted it along the Rhine, alarmed them time enough to give them an opportunity of retiring to Nuremberg, and other cities, where they met with a kind reception and a protection from the emperor. It must be owned, however, that that hermit's persecuting doctrine was displeasing to many Christian bishops and others, and that St. Bernard did in particular write a letter to the archbishop of Mentz, in which he highly condemned it, and was for having that fiery zealot sent back to his solitude^l. Nevertheless, the flame was spread far and near by his trumpeters, not only in Germany, but in most other parts of Europe, and vast multitudes were massacred by the Christians, besides a much greater number, if we may believe the Jewish chronologers; who, being driven into despair by the cruelties they were made to undergo, made away with themselves^m. We shall now take a view of their more peaceable and flourishing state in the East, during the twelfth century.

The author whom we have followed, and whose character the reader will see in the margin (O), tells us that he found several considental synagogues, and a number of Jews, who lived there at their ease, and enjoyed the liberty of their religion unmolestedⁿ. That of Bassorah,

A.D. 1144.
& seq.

*During the
second cru-
sade.*

*Protected
by the em-
peror.*

*Benjamin
of Tudela's
character
and travels.*

^l Bern. Epist. 133. tom. i.
seq.

^m Gantz. Tzemach. p. 133, &

ⁿ Itinerar. p. 59, & seq.

(O) We shall, for want of a better guide, be chiefly obliged for the account of the Jews, during the twelfth century, both in the East and West, to the noted traveller of their nation, Benjamin, surnamed of Tudela, a city in Navarre,

his native place, who tells us that he had visited most of these parts. But he is, in the main, a very fabulous writer, and hath not scrupled to interlard his account with many absurd and incredible stories, to raise the credit of his nation.

*Jews in
the East.*

*Prince of
the capti-
vity's tomb,
and other
antiquities.*

situated in an island of the Tygris, contained four thousand Jews; that of Almozal, answering to the ancient Niveh, and built of its old materials, had seven thousand. In this last he found Zacheus, a prince descended from the house of David, and Beren Al Pherec, a famed astronomer, who associated himself as a kind of chaplain to king Zin Aldin (P). Passing through Rehoboth, in his way to Baghdad, he found two thousand settled there, and five hundred at Karchemish, famed for the defeat of Pharaoh Necho, situated on the banks of the Euphrates. Pundebita, or as he writes it, Pum-beditha, once so famed, though much sunk from its pristine grandeur, and then named Aliobari, or Elnebar, had still a few doctors, though almost forsaken, and about two thousand Jews, some of whom applied themselves to the study of the law. It shewed still the tomb of Bostenai, a prince of the captivity, who had married a daughter of the king of Persia, and those of two celebrated doctors, and the two synagogues they had built before their death. The academy of Sora, once so famed for being the residence of several Jewish chiefs, of the lineage of David, as well as for the number of its scholars, and learned professors, had likewise lost most of its ancient glory; and the same he says also of Nahardea, whose schools were all demolished, and the doctors retired into the West. We have given an account of this desertion in speaking of the foregoing century; nevertheless, though those parts had now neither academies nor learned rabbies, the Jews were still very numerous there; and our author tells us he found no less than ten thousand of them at Obkeray; which city he pretends had been built by king Jechoniah, during the Babylonish captivity.

o Ibid. p. 62, & seq.

(P) It may seem strange that a Jewish astronomer should be chaplain to a Mohammedan prince, for such was Zin Aldin above mentioned, who was brother to Nor Aldin, king of Syria, whom the Moslems revered not only as a great conqueror, but as one of their

greatest saints. But if we consider how apt the generality of the Jews were to temporize, either through fear, or for their own interest, we shall not be surprised to find that great astronomer so compliable to the religion of his prince (1).

(1) Vide Bafnag. ubi supra, lib. ix. cap. 8. sect. 4.

From thence he proceeded to Baghdad, where Mostanged *Jews at Baghdad favoured.* who then reigned, was a great lover and favourer of the Jews, and had a great number of them in his service. He was perfectly well acquainted with the Hebrew, could readily write it, and had acquired some knowledge of their law. There were, however, not above a thousand Jews in that city, though some have enlarged the number to many thousands, a thing very common among Jewish writers; but whatever their number might be, they had, he says, twenty-eight synagogues, and ten tribunals or courts, at the head of which were ten of the most considerable of their nation, who applied themselves to the affairs of it, and were styled the ten Idle Men, over whom was the chief or prince of the captivity. The person who then enjoyed that dignity was styled by them lord, and by the Moslems, the son of David, he being, according to our author, lineally descended from that holy monarch^p. His authority extended over all the Jews under the dominion of the khalif, prince of the faithful, and from the province of Syria quite eastward to the Iron Gates, and as far as India (Q).

The Jewish rabbies, who pretend that those Eastern *Not independent of the monarchs.* chiefs were independent of any other monarchs, and retained still the power of life and death, have left no stone unturned to prove that favourite point; insomuch that Origen himself believed that those Assyrian monarchs under whom they lived, being contented with their subjection and dependence, allowed them to govern their people, according to their own laws, and to inflict even death on the guilty, and proved it not only from the apocryphal book of Sufanna against Africanus, but from more recent instances, under the Roman emperors, after the destruction of the temple by Titus^q. He hath been followed by others both ancient and modern, who pretend they had a power to raise a tribute on the nation, and to punish the recusants as well as other criminals with death^r.

^p Ibid, p. 72, & seq. ^q Epist. ad African. p. 144. ^r Vide Int. al Sulpit. Sever. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 2. Drus. Not. p. 279.

(Q) He farther tells us that had a hundred guards that escorted him when he went to visit the khalif, and a herald cried before him, "Prepare the ways of the Lord the son of David."

*Jews in
other east-
ern parts.*

*Tomb of
Ezekiel
reverenced*

*Account of
the Rechabites
con-
futed.*

*Jews in
Egypt.*

Tudela, on his leaving Baghdad, passed though Resen, where he tell us^r, he found near five thousand Jews, performing their devotions in a large synagogue; and some leagues farther about a thousand more, praying in an oratory, said to have been built by the prophet Daniel. Hela, another town in that neighbourhood, had four synagogues, and about ten thousand Jews. Proceeding still eastward, he arrived at the banks of the river Chebar, on which is the tomb of the prophet Ezekiel, where he found sixty towers, every one of which was a synagogue; and not far from it the palace of Jechoniah, built by that Jewish monarch upon its being restored by Evil Merodach (R). From thence he passed to Cufa, once the famous residence of the khalifs, but since abandoned, wherein, however, he found about seven thousand of his own nation, who had but one synagogue. Thema was according to him the chief place where the Rechabites were still seated, and who were, according to him, masters of a vast territory about it; but this, as well as several other particulars, which he there affirms, concerning the ten tribes transported thither by the kings of Assyria, and their different settlements, hath been sufficiently confuted by Mr. Basnage, to which we refer our readers^s, and follow our author into Egypt.

Here he found the Jews still more numerous, as it was a country in which they had from the earliest times, before

^r Itiner. p. 78, & seq.
10, & seq.

^s Hist. de Juifs, liv. vii. chap. 3. sect.

(R) This edifice, which he tell us is so situate as to have a full view of the Chebar on one side, and of the Euphrates on the other, retains still the figures of that Jewish monarch, and of his retinue, at the end of which is the prophet Ezekiel, carved on the roof. But the tomb of that prophet was still more resorted to, as a place of devotion, to which even the princes of the captivity repaired every year, attended with a numerous retinue. It was likewise frequented and highly revered by the Persians and

Mohammedans; so that during all their wars, no conqueror ever dared lay hands on it. Here hung over that prophet's tomb a lamp, which burned night and day, and was maintained by the chief, and his head counsellors. There is likewise a rich library in it, to which all the Jews who died without children, used to bequeath and send all their books: and among the rest they shewed the prototype of Ezekiel's prophecies written, as they pretend, with his own hands (1).

(1) Itinerar. ubi supra, & seq.

as well as after their total dispersion, been settled in great numbers. He reckoned no less than thirty thousand in the city of Chouts, on the frontiers of Ethiopia; two thousand he saw at Mizraim, now Grand Cairo, who had two synagogues, and were divided about some trivial points relating to the division and reading of the sacred books, one sort going through the whole lecture of them in one year, as they do in Spain and elsewhere; and the other only once in three years. In this city it was that the chief of all the Egyptian synagogues resided, appointed their doctors, and took care of the affairs of the nation. Our author likewise visited the once famed land of Goshen, where, among other things, he found the Jews very numerous, in one place two hundred, in another five hundred; three hundred in the city of Goshen, as many at Alexandria, and but a few at Damietta. The rest he represents as dispersed in all the other provinces and towns of Egypt, in great numbers, though vastly short of what they once were, when the single city of Alexandria was reckoned to have a hundred thousand of that people (S). But what is most surprising is, that he makes no mention of any of their learned doctors, though two celebrated rabbies flourished there at the very time that he pretends to have travelled through it; viz. Abi, a learned rabbi of Alexandria, who wrote a treatise on the intelligences which move the heavens, and on the influence of the planets; and flourished about an. 1150: and the great Maimonides, who lived about the same time at Cairo, in such repute, that he was, and is still, reckoned the greatest man of that age and nation. The reader may see an account of his learned works in the note (T). It must be owned however, that

In Goshen.

Two learned rabbies omitted.

Maimonides' character and works.

† Itinerar. p. 83, & seq.

(S) Our author hath not only mentioned here a city (that of Chouts) which is not to be found in any other, and placed that of Goshen, capital of the canton, near that of Alexandria, contrary to the situation which the sacred writings give it, but speaks of Joseph's granaries as still to be seen at Cairo, and of Aristotle's celebrated academy, that was resorted to by the learned from all parts of the

world; though the former have long ago been destroyed, and the latter was built not at Alexandria, nor in Egypt, but at Athens.

(T) 1. Pirush Hamishnah, or a comment on that book, begun in Spain, in the twenty-third year of his age, and finished in the thirtieth, in Egypt, and written originally in Arabic, in which language several copies are still found in the

that excepting these two, Egypt hath not produced during these latter ages many men of note: we shall therefore leave

Vatican and other public libraries; and since translated at different times, and by several hands into Hebrew. 2dly. *Jad Chazakah, il Mishnah Hathora*, or the repetition of the law, and divided into four parts, and these into fourteen books, which are still subdivided into various other titles.

3. His third treatise is intitled *Moreh Nevokim*, or the director or expounder of perplexed texts or places of scripture.

4. His fourth is the *Sepher Hammitzvoth*, the book of commandments, or an exposition of the precepts of the Mosaic law, both positive and negative.

5. His Epistle or Discourse on the resurrection of the dead.

6. His Southern Epistle, or letter to the Jews inhabiting the southern parts of the world, exhorting them to continue steadfast in the Jewish faith.

7. His letter to the doctors of Marfeilles, in Provence, which is a kind of answer or confutation of the common Jewish notion about the infallible influence of the stars, and of a Jewish impostor who called himself the Messiah.

8. The Epistles to the Great Light, that is to Maimonides himself, and written to him by the learned Jewish doctors of France and Spain, with his answers to them.

9. A set of sermons wrote by him, and mentioned in this treatise on the *Sanhedrin*, and

by the author of the *Shalsheth Hakkabalah*, p. 43.

10. His logic, divided into fourteen chapters, the MS of which is in the Vatican library.

11. His treatise on the preservation of health, dedicated to the king of Egypt, the MS. in the Bodleian library.

12. His physical aphorisms, and other small treatises on diseases and their cures.

13. His *Garden of Health*, treating of animals, plants, stones, and other products of the earth.

14. Some other physical treatises in Arabic, and mentioned by Dr. Pococke, senior.

15. His book of the knowledge of God, by the help of his creatures.

16. His treatise on the soul.

17. Comment on Hippocrates.

18. — on the law.

19. — Avicen.

20. — on the *Gemarrah*.

21. *Pirke Moshe*. or physical extracts out of Galen.

22. Questions and answers concerning various customs.

23. Questions and answers on other subjects.

24. On the thirteen articles of faith.

25. His manuscript copy of the Pentateuch, written with his own hand.

These are the most noted of his works. We omit some others of less moment, besides those which himself mentions in some of his treatises, but which are not now to be found.

Those

leave it, and pass thence into Palestine, where we shall hardly find them in greater plenty.

Our author tells us that he found at Tyre, in his way *Jews at Tyre.* thither, about five hundred of his nation, some few of whom were well versed in the Talmud. Most of the rest were employed in the glass manufacture, the Tyrian glass being then in great esteem. The Samaritans having abandoned their ancient capital, were retired some to Cæsarea, *Samari- tans* where he found about two hundred, and about one hundred more at Sichem, which last was become the seat of their religion. The priests there boasted themselves lineally descended from Aaron, and never married out of their own family, that their succession might be preserved untainted. They were very strict in solemnizing their festivals, and offering up their sacrifices on Mount Garizzim, where they pretend the altar was made of those very twelve stones which Joshua caused to be reared into an heap in the midst of Jordan, upon his miraculously passing that river.

Jerusalem, though once the seat of the Jewish religion, *Jews in Jerusalem,* and so much sighed after by the Jews, had scarcely two hundred of that nation in it, who were all woollen-dyers, and paid a certain tribute for that monopoly. They were settled in one of the quarters of the city, under David's Tower, and made but a mean figure. From a false notion which prevails among them, that there is still one of the walls of the sanctuary left standing, they commonly chose to go and offer up their prayers before it. Other cities of Judea were still more destitute of them: he tells us, he found two in one, twenty in another, most of them dyers. That of Shunam had about three hundred. Ascalon, once one of the capitals of the Philistians, had five hundred and fifty-three, the greater part of whom were of the Samaritan sect, a few of them Caraites, and the rest Talmudists.

Upper Galilee, or as it was commonly called Galilee of *in Upper Galilee.* the Gentiles, had a much greater number of them, and it was into that province most of them retired after the destruction of Jerusalem, and where they afterwards founded the famed academy of Tiberias, often mentioned in

Those who desire to know more consult among others, the author of him and his works, may find them quoted in the margin (1).

(1) Bartoloc. & Wolf Biblioth. Rab. J. Buxtorph. Præfat. in Maim. Moreh Nevothi. R. Claverius Dissert. de Maimon. & ejus Operibus. Basnag. Hist. ubi. sup.

this chapter; yet our author found but fifty of them who had a synagogue, and the rest of the town hath nothing left worth notice, but its salubrious, or as the Jews always styled them, miraculous waters. However, another Jewish traveller^z, who was there about twenty-five or thirty years after, gives a quite different account of that academy and its doctors, whom he went thither to consult; and as it is hardly to be imagined either that it could have recovered itself in so short a time from the abject condition in which our author represents it, nor that this latter, who strives every where else to raise the glory of his nation, should have any private motive to eclipse that of this city; so there can be no other way to reconcile those two travellers, but by supposing that it had undergone some severe change, just before Benjamin visited it, occasioned by the incursions of the Arabs, who actually plundered and ravaged it fundry times, till Solyman caused its walls, which had been formerly demolished, to be built up again; upon which it began to be better inhabited both by Jews and Turks. However, as there was a synagogue then extant, and must be supposed to have had some doctors, even in Benjamin's time, other Jews might have gone thither in the sequel so as to justify what is said by Aben Ezra.

*Jews in
Greece.*

From Palestine our author passed into Greece, where he found about two hundred Jews, who dwelt on and about Mount Parnassus, and lived on the product of it, which was chiefly pulse. They had some rabbies; but whatever be the reason, they have been since forbid to settle within some leagues of it. He found three hundred of them at Corinth, and two thousand at Thebes, who were either dyers or silk-weavers. The rabbies in this last were so learned, that those only of Constantinople could equal them, though we can hear nothing of their productions in that kind: the two most learned of them were of the Samaritan sect. There were some at Lepanto, some at Patras, and other parts of the Turkish empire, but neither numerous nor wealthy; and as for learning, not to be compared to those that flourished in the West, of whom we shall speak by-and-by. From Greece he took his way to Constantinople, the famed city of Agripou, where he found two hundred Jews (W), and near the same
number

*Some Sa-
maritans.*

^z Aben Ezra ap. Basnag. ubi. sup. lib. ix. cap. 8. seq. 25.

(W) This city, which he frequented by merchants from fays is situate on the sea, and all parts of the world, is supposed

number in two other cities, mentioned in the last note.

At Constantinople, he found about two thousand Jews settled in the quarter or suburb called Galata or Pera, where they had been placed by the emperor Theodosius, and where they lived still, and carried on the silk manufacture. Besides these, there were about five hundred Caraites, who nevertheless lived peaceably enough with the rest, though their quarter was divided from their's by a wall, to prevent any communication between them. Theodosius had granted them the privilege of having a peculiar magistrate over them, viz. the governor of the suburb, but they were afterwards stript of it by Manuel Comnenus, and made subject to the common magistrates. Our traveller tells us, that they were hated and insulted both by Turks and Greeks, though that emperor had a physician of their nation, who made use of all his interest with him in their favour. He adds, that they were forbid to ride on horses through the streets of the city, and were commonly insulted and pelted by the populace, who often came also and broke forcibly into their houses, and committed such outrages among them, that they might be said to live under the hardest and most shameful slavery; notwithstanding which, they have still kept their settlement there, and the quarter in which they still live, is by the Franks called from them the Jewry.

Jews at Constantinople.

From Constantinople our author passed into Italy, where feuds and hostilities reigned between the inhabitants of Genoa, Pisa, and other cities of that republic, on which account the Jews were but few in these parts; for whenever any such quarrels happened, let which ever side get the uppermost, the Hebrews were sure to be oppressed. He went thence to Rome, where he found them in greater numbers, and several learned rabbies among them, particularly R. Jechiel, who was superintendant of the pope's finances. Capua was no less famed for the number and learning of her doctors, though the whole number of Jews in this city did not exceed three hundred. The chief rabbi, they styled the prince of the nation, though his au-

Jews at Rome, &c.

posed to be the ancient Chalcis, near the Negropont; but he mentions some others, which he pretends to be of equal splendor and greatness, such as Jabasteriza and Rabenica, in

which he says he found a good number of his own nation; but these are not to be found in any maps, or in any other author.

thority

thority did not extend even over all the Jews in Italy, if it did over any, except the Capuans. He found five hundred at Naples, two hundred at Salerno, and particularly in this last the learned Solomon, a priest, the Grecian Eliah; and R. Abraham, a native of Narbonne, who held the first rank. There were some others settled at Malfi, Benevento, Ascoli, and Trani, which last was the rendezvous for those who embarked for the pilgrimage of the Holy Land. The islands of Sicily and Corsica had likewise a good number of them, especially the former, where he found about two hundred at Messina, and five hundred at Palermo.

In Germany, Bohemia, &c.

He travelled thence into Germany, where he found them not only more numerous, quiet, and peaceable, but likewise more zealous, devout, and hospitable to strangers, bewailing the desolation of their city and temple, and in long expectation of hearing the voice of the turtle-dove, as they term it, by which they mean their glorious recall into that once happy land. He penetrated as far as Bohemia, which he tells us was then called the New Canaan, because the Bohemians sold their children to all the neighbouring nations.

In France.

Thence passing over into France, by the way of Barcelona and Girona, where he says the Jews were but thin, he came to Narbonne, where he found three hundred, and at their head the famed R. Calonymo, said to be lineally descended from David, who was very powerful and wealthy, especially in lands, which had been bestowed on him and his ancestors, on account of the signal services they had done to the lords of that country: that city was looked upon as the centre of the Jewish religion and nation. Montpellier was then full of Turks, Greeks, Christians, and Jews, who resorted thither from foreign parts. In the neighbourhood of it was Lunel,

The Holy Assembly of Lunel.

where was kept the Holy Assembly, which applied itself to the study of the divine law night and day. Meshullam, who then presided over it, had five sons, equally learned, one especially versed in the Talmud, and who fasted often; and here the strangers who came to learn, were maintained and supplied with every thing, at the public charge, that nothing might divert their attention to their studies. Our author found likewise Jewish synagogues at Marseilles, Arles, and other places, and not only in great cities, but in borough towns, and concludes his account with that of the city of Paris, where he found an assembly much given to the study of the law, and to hospitality, which received all the Jews who came thither as so many brethren,

Assembly at Paris.

brethren. Before we conclude the twelfth century, it will be necessary to give our readers a short account of some other Jews dispersed into other parts, according to the relation of rabbi Petachiah (X).

The account he gives of those which he saw in Tartary, is that they were heretics, that is, that they did not observe the traditions of the fathers; and upon his asking them the reason why they did not, they answered, that they had never heard of any: they were, however, such strict observers of the Sabbath, that they cut the bread on Friday evening which they were to eat on that day; they hardly stirred from their seats all that day, eat their victuals in the dark, and knew of no other prayers but those which were contained in the book of Psalms.

R. Petachiah's account of them in Tartary and Nineveh.

When he arrived at the New Nineveh, he found about six thousand Jews there, whose chiefs were called David and Samuel, two near relations, descended from David. All the Jews of that country were obliged to pay them a certain capitation, one half of which was to be conveyed to the lieutenant of the king of Babylon, and the other belonged to them. They had lands of their own, fields, gardens, and vineyards, well cultivated. It was, it seems, here, as well as in Persia, Damascus, &c. the custom among them, not to maintain any fingers; but the chiefs, who kept at their table a number of doctors, obliged them, sometimes one, sometimes another, to perform that office. Their authority was so great, that they could punish strangers, as well as those of their nation, when, upon their pleading before them, they were found in the wrong, and kept a prison for all such delinquents.

Upon his coming to Bagdad, he found about one thousand Jews settled there; but speaks of two thousand disciples, under the chief of the synagogue, and all learned men. These sat on the ground, whilst he taught them from a high desk covered with a gold tissue; and every one had a copy containing the twenty-four books of the Sacred Writ. The Jewish women went forth veiled, and avoided speaking to strangers, either in the streets, or even at their homes. We shall only add, with respect to

In Bagdad.

(X) This rabbi was born at Ratibon, and travelled not only through most parts where Benjamin had been, but doth so exactly agree with him, as if they had copied each other; so that we shall forbear repeating from this what hath been said by the other, but take notice only of such facts or curious particulars, as are not mentioned by him.

the

*His account
of the
chiefs.*

*Number of
Jews in
Persia.*

the chiefs here, to what we mentioned out of Benjamin, that, upon the death of Daniel, who left no male successor, the Jews, who had preserved the right of choosing their chief, divided themselves, one party nominating David, and the other Samuel, to that dignity, both lineally descended from David; which division still subsisted when our author left Bagdad; where he adds, the Jews were treated with great mildness, were exempt from any tribute to the king, and only paid a piece of gold to the chief of the synagogue: but they were used with greater severity in Persia, where, nevertheless, they were computed to amount to six hundred thousand; for which reason, he only ventured through one of the Persian cities. He went thence into Judea, of which he gives much the same account as his brother Benjamin, but adds, that he sought in vain for Lot's wife turned into a statue of salt, and believed that it was no longer in being. What he tells us about the sepulchre of Abraham, and of their having substituted another with three bodies in it, to deceive passengers, is rather too fabulous to deserve a place here; so that having now gone through the most material account of our two Jewish travellers, we shall supply the rest from other authors, with respect to some other countries and facts which they have passed by.

*A.D. 1146.
& seq.*

*Jews pro-
tected by
the popes.*

We have already taken notice, that St. Bernard, who was a great enemy to the Albigenes, was as great a favourer of the Jews, and inclined the then pope Innocent II. on their side. What still more contributed to it was their approaching him with uncommon respect, as he was making his entrance into Paris, and presenting him with the roll or volume of their law, a ceremony which was used long before at Rome at the pope's installation, who, upon receiving it at their hands, returned them this answer, "I reverence the law given by God to Moses, but condemn your exposition of it, because you still expect the Messiah, whom the catholic church believes to be Christ, who liveth and reigneth with the Father and the Holy Ghost." His successor Alexander III. became likewise a great protector of them, and forbade the people to affront them on their Sabbath and other festivals, or on any other occasions. Under his protection they flourished to such a degree, that the little town of Cozzi in the Milanese, the cities of Monza, Ricca Nova, and others in the March of Ancona, produced great numbers of learned rabbies^a.

^aBartoloc. ub. sup.

They were no less powerful in Spain, where one of them, named Joseph, was prime minister to Alphonso VIII. and had a coach of state and guards attending him. He was, however, undermined by one of his own creatures, named Gonzales, who, under pretence of filling that monarch's coffers, prevailed upon him to grant him eight of the principal Jews, such as he should pitch upon, whom he accordingly caused to be beheaded, and confiscated their estates, part of which he gave to the king, and the rest he kept. He afterwards offered a much larger sum for the grant of twenty more; but Alphonso rather chose to confiscate their estates, in order to defray the charges of the war, without shedding their blood; and they were so glad to save their lives and liberty at any rate, that they poured immense sums into his treasury^b. But what farther ingratiated them with him, was his falling deeply in love with a beautiful young Jewess, to whom he sacrificed his honour and interest, and, for her sake, to her nation^c; for the Jews, taking that advantage, grew so powerful and insolent, that the court and clergy became quite scandalized at it; and, at length, dissolved the charm by the death of the beloved object (Y). The Jews, however, went on thrivingly till the dissension between their doctors, mentioned in the last note, disturbed the union which had, till then, reigned among them. It was during this quiet interval, or perhaps a little before this time, that,

A.D. 1170.

Persecuted in Spain.

A.D. 1140.

^b Solom. Ben Virg. p. 93. cap. 18 & 19.

^c Mariana, de Reb. Hisp. lib. xi.

(Y) They not only made away with the young charmer, but caused some spectre to appear to the king, and to preach chastity and repentance to him; and the defeat which the Moors gave him at that time was cried up as a just punishment for his crime. However, the Jews flourished so well under him, that R. Eliakim, who was then in great esteem there, and composed his ritual of all the ceremonies used in every synagogue, commonly styled "The Ritual of the Universe," reckons no

less than twelve thousand Jews in the city of Toledo.

They were no less considerable in Andalusia, where great numbers applied themselves closely to the study of divinity and other sciences, till they came at length to divide themselves into three different sects, which Maimon, who then flourished, hath given an account of, and looked upon this rupture as one of the sad consequences of the abolition of their Sanhedrin (1).

(1) More Nevoch. par. i. cap. 71. p. 133, & seq.

according

according to the Jewish chronologers^d, copies came to be dispersed of the sacred Hebrew, according to the manuscript of the celebrated Hillel, which had appeared some time before, at what year cannot be guessed, nor what became of it; but in which two verses were found wanting in the twenty-first chapter of the book of Joshua (Z).

*In France
by Philip.*

The Jews did not fare so well in France, where they were accused of the murder of St. William, and were condemned to the flames for it^e, as they justly deserved, provided those only had suffered the punishment who had a share in the guilt; but that was seldom the case, at least the odium it brought upon the rest exposed them to the insults of the populace. At length king Philip, surnamed the August, under pretence of devotion, not only banished them out of the kingdom, but confiscated all their wealth, and only permitted them to sell their household goods, which yet they could get none to buy, insomuch that they were thereby reduced to the lowest misery, and great numbers forced to sink under it^f (A). His zeal,

*Recalled by
him.*

^d Gantz Tzemach, sub. an. Chron. Siegb. An. 1177.

^e Bob. de Monte, Append. ad.

^f Gantz, ubi sup.

(Z) These were the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh verses, which mention the four cities of refuge appointed in the tribe of Reuben; but which, being found in the book, made Grotius imagine they had been since transplanted from thence into the text of Joshua above mentioned, though without any foundation, seeing they are not only found there in the Septuagint, or Greek version, which is allowed to be more ancient than Hillel's manuscript; but likewise explain that text, by telling us that those towns were on this side Jordan, and on one side of Jericho.

(A) The author of that prince's life tells us, this precaution was occasioned by their crucifying a youth at Paris,

named Richard; which, he adds, was commonly done by that hated nation once a year. Most of the persecutions they have undergone in this and the subsequent centuries hath been ascribed, either to some such crucifixion, or to their stealing some consecrated wafer, and offering the vilest indignities to it.

The Richard above mentioned being buried in a common church-yard, became so famed for his miracles, that they made a martyr of him, and removed his body into the church of the Innocents, whence, we are told, the English, in the reign of Charles V. stole it away; and left nothing behind but his head (1).

(1) Rigord. de Gest. Phil. August. Hist. Franc. tom. iv. p. 61.

however, soon gave way to policy; and, whatever his private motive might be, he ordered them to be recalled; for which step he was as highly blamed by the zealots, as they had before applauded him; and for which he found no better excuse to silence their outcries than by pretending he did it to extort more money from them to carry on the crusade.

They returned accordingly in great numbers, though A.D. 1193.
their stay proved but short; for growing numerous and insolent, they assembled, by the queen mother's permission, in a castle on the river Seine, where they crucified a youth, after having cruelly scourged and crowned him with thorns; which outrage obliged the king to go thither in person, and cause eighty of them to be burnt alive.^g But this severity did not save him from being blamed for recalling them, or the success which our king Richard had afterwards over him, from being looked upon as a just punishment upon him.

Those in England, who had been banished out of it ever since the year 1020, had since found means to settle again in that kingdom; and were become so numerous in the reign of Henry II. that, having then but one burying ground in London, they petitioned that monarch to have some new cemeteries, which were readily granted to them.^h But they underwent a most terrible punishment under his successor Richard I. when having ventured, contrary to the express prohibitions against it, to assist at his coronation, they were discovered, and overwhelmed with blows and dragged out of the church half-dead: the populace were so exasperated, that they broke into their houses, and killed all they met. From that metropolis the flame spread into the country; and, though the government published a proclamation the very next day after the coronation to suppress the fury of the people, yet the persecution lasted the greatest part of the year.ⁱ A.D. 1179.

Before we close this century, we shall give a short account of the most celebrated rabbies who flourished at that period. We begin with the learned rabbi Nathan Ben Jechiel, chief of the Jewish academy at Rome about the beginning of this century, and author of the book called *ערוך*, Haruk, wherein he explains all the terms of the Talmud in so copious a manner, that he hath in

^g Alberic. Trium Font. Chronic. sub A. D. 1182. Bafnag. ubi sup. cap. 12. § 23, & seq. ^h Polyd. Virg. lib. xiii. p. 236.
ⁱ Matth. Paris, p. 103. Trivel. Chronic. Gener. sub. an. 1190.

some measure exhausted that matter ; infomuch that those who have come after, have rather plundered than improved him, particularly the great Buxtorf, who made frequent use of his remarks without quoting him.

Aben Ezra.

The next in time, though superior in learning and merit, was the great Aben Ezra, or, as his name written at length imports, Abraham Ben Meir Aben Ezra, surnamed, by way of excellence, the Wise, as he really was one of the most learned men of his age and nation. He had been a great traveller, and a diligent searcher after learning, was a good astronomer, philosopher, physician, poet, and critic, in which last science he hath excelled all that went before him^b ; and is chiefly admired by the Christians for his judicious explications of the sacred books. He died, as he himself had foretold a little before his death, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, A.D. 1174 (V).

^b F. Simon, Hist. crit. V. Test. lib. iii. c. 5. Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. N. 110. Basnag. ubi sup. cap. x. §. 3. & seq.

(V) He wrote, 1. A learned comment on all the books of the Old Testament, a work very much esteemed by all the learned for its usefulness, clearness, succinctness, and elegance, and for being free from the puerile dreams and fables of the Jewish writers. 2. Sepher Sodoth Hathorah, a treasure of the hidden secrets of the law. 3. Jessed Thorah, the foundation of the law. 4. A comment on the decalogue, since translated into Latin by S. Munster, with notes. 5. A new comment on Isaiah and the minor prophets, revised and corrected by him. 6. Ditto, on Proverbs, the Canticles, Esther, and the Lamentations. 7. His epistle on the Sabbath in rhiming verse. 8. Another poem, intitled, ח'י בן מ'ק'י, Let the wakeful Son live ; which treats of rewards and

punishments. To this Bartolucci joins another, intitled, of the kingdom of Heaven. 9. יסוד מורא, the foundation of fear. 10. ס' השם, Sepher Hassem, on the Tetragrammaton, or name Jehovah. 11. Eight treatises on the Hebrew grammar. 12. One on ethics. 13. One on logic. 14. A poem on the soul. 15. His beginning of wisdom, an astrological treatise divided into eight parts, treating of the influence of the stars and planets, their motions, aspects, lucky and unlucky days ; of algebra and geometry, arithmetic and astronomy, of the world, of embolimal years, of chances, and judicial astrology. 16. His excellent poem on the game of chess, translated by Dr. Hyde ; and some others of lesser note (5).

(5) Shalsheth. Hakkabalah, p. 41, & seq. Gantz Tzemach, & al. Juchasin. p. 130, & 163. Schikard, Simon. Bartoloc. & Wolf.

We

We have in this century three famous rabbies of the name of Levi, or Hallevi. One born at Cologne, who, after many conferences with the Christians, was baptized, and taught Latin under the name of Herman. 2. Judah Hallevi a good poet, and author of the dialogue intitled, Chozar. And, 3. Abraham Hallevi, a learned rabbinist and cabalist, whom some make father-in-law, and others, first cousin, to Aben Ezra, and who was a most zealous antagonist against the Caraites, though far inferior to them in point of reasoning and judgment; so that, not being able to cope with them, he had recourse to king Alphonso VII. to whom he had done some signal services, and easily obtained an order from him to have all his adversaries silenced.

Three learned Lewis.

We have already given an account of the great Maimonides, who flourished in this century, in speaking of the Jews in Egypt. His works, of which we have there given a short account, particularly his *Moreh Nevochim*, soon raised him many admirers, but a much greater number of opponents; insomuch that the synagogues, who took part for and against him, made no scruple to excommunicate each other. Judah Alcharisi, who then flourished, and was a great poet, undertook to translate his comments on the *Mishnah*, at the request of the Marisian doctors, who did not understand Arabic, and gave that work the noblest encomiums. He likewise translated his *Moreh Nevochim*, or resolution of doubtful questions; but, though he likewise extolled it to the skies, Maimonides was not satisfied with it, but disapproved of the version. On the other hand, R. Solomon, then chief of the synagogue of Montpellier, finding that he spoke still plainer against the Talmudic decisions in his *Moreh Nevochim*, than he had done in the comment, lost all patience, and engaged all the doctors there, particularly R. R. Jonah, and David who studied under him, to stand up in the defence of the Talmud against him, even to the burning of his books, and excommunicating all that should read them, or apply themselves to the study of philosophy.

Maimonides's defenders and opposers.

The war thus declared against him and his followers, was however so far from deterring others from entering the lists in his behalf, that the doctors of Narbonne, with the great Joseph Kimchi at their head, not only stood up in his defence, but engaged all their brethren in Spain in the same cause. This war between the doctors of both nations lasted about forty years, and employed the most learned heads and pens on both sides; neither can it be

Synagogues excommunicate each other about him.

said to have been effectually ended, seeing his works have been attacked and censured, from time to time, in the subsequent centuries by fresh doctors of all nations. However the schism which they had caused, was abolished, an. 1232. But it is time to speak of the other learned Jews that flourished in this twelfth century^c.

*The three
Kimchis.*

R. Kimchi was the son of Joseph Kimchi, and, though a hot zealot for Maimonides, was inferior to his father in point of learning and reputation. This last was a bitter enemy of the Christians; and suffered his zeal to transport him beyond all bounds, as one may see by his book of the wars of the Lord, and his treatise on faith and alliance with heretics, meaning the Christians. His son David, or, as his name is commonly abridged, Radak, for Rabbi David Kimchi, was more learned than either of them, and much more moderate towards the Christians. His works are still very useful and esteemed, particularly his grammar and comment upon the Psalms, which have been translated into Latin, as well as some other of his commentaries, and inserted into the Latin Bibles of Venice and Basil. He had a brother named Moses, who was likewise a man of learning, and the author of a treatise, intitled, The Garden of Delight, which treated of the state of the soul, but hath never been printed. The manuscript of it is in the Vatican library^d.

*Solomon
Jarchi.*

Another famed rabbi of this century, was the learned Solomon Jarchi, styled by some the son of Isaac, and by others Rashi, which is only an abbreviation of his name, a native of Troyes in Champagne, who left it to travel into Judea and Persia, and upon his return, applied himself wholly to the study and teaching of the Talmud. His comment on the Gemarrah hath been so highly esteemed, that it hath gained him the title of Prince of Commentators; though his notes on the sacred books are so fraught with fables and Talmudic visions, that he is as much despised for it, as he is admired for the other. He died at

A.D. 1180.

His death.

Treves, in the 75th year of his age, and his corpse was carried to Prague, where his tomb is still to be seen^e. The Jews in general had many famed men in most sciences; such as Kimchi for grammar; Judah Alcharisi, R. Hallevi, Joseph Hadajian, of Cordova, and Aben Ezra, for poetry; the last named, and Abraham Nassi, for

^c Catel. Hist. d' Languedoc, lib. iv. Bartol. Wolf. & Basnag. ubi sup.

^d Bartol. ubi sup. tom. iv. Wolf. ubi sup. N. 495. & ali. sub nom. Gantz, ubi sup. sub an. 4950.

^e Id. Ibid.

astronomy. It were an endless task to particularize their celebrated professors; we shall only mention one; viz. Isaac Hazzaken, or the elder, who had sixty disciples so skilled in the Gemarrah, that they could dispute extempore on any point that was proposed to them out of it, and deduce arguments from it on either side of the question. One of these disciples was the famed Judah of Paris, who became very famous in the following century ^{f.}

Jews famed on other accounts.

Those of Germany made themselves remarkable rather for their piety, miracles, and prophecies, than for their learning; and, if we may believe their authors, R. Samuel, who lived at Vienna, gained the title of prophet, on account of the many oracles which he there delivered. His son Judah, surnamed the Pious, was no less famous for the miracles attributed to him, and fit only for a Jewish creed. This century likewise produced some learned women: and one of the Jewish travellers, mentioned a little higher, extols a daughter of the chief of the captivity in the East, who was so learned both in the law and in the Talmud, that she read lectures through the lattice of her window, to a great number of disciples, so that they only heard without seeing her ^{g.}

In Germany great prophets and miracle-mongers.

We have likewise seen in this chapter, some Jews in the highest posts in the courts of several princes; others at the head of armies, exercising their several functions with great applause. Portugal, amongst others, produced a most celebrated Jew, who not only raised himself, by dint of merit, to the command of the army, but by his singular modesty, as well as his valour and success, eluded all the cabals and intrigues of the Portuguese ministry against him (W). We might here mention likewise some of their learned

Judah the Pious, his miraculous deliverance.

Converts and apostates.

^f Gantz. & al. ubi sup. genfeil, in Sottah, p. 220.

^g Itinerar. R. Petach, ap. Wagenfeil.

(W) This was the great Dom. Solomon, the son of Jechaiiah, who was as great a philosopher as general. His merit raised him to the dignity of field-master-general. A. D. 1190, which was then the highest post in the militia; in which he behaved so well, that he obtained the command of the whole army. His valour and success raised him very powerful enemies among the grandees, whom he overcame by his singular modesty; and not content with praising it himself, he inspired his nation with it; and having observed that their riding on horseback along the streets was displeasing to the Portuguese, he prevailed upon them to leave it off, as well as the wearing of silk garments.

men who forsook the synagogue in this century, to turn either Mohammedans or Christians; but as that task would carry us too far, we shall proceed to some more momentous transactions, namely, the several false Messiahs that appeared both in the East and West during this interval.

False Messiahs.

First in France.

A.D. 1138.

A second in Persia.

A.D. 1157.

A third in Spain.

Of these authors reckon no less than nine or ten; so that the great number of their learned could neither hinder their impostures, nor the people's credulity. The first appeared in France, an. 1137. The place of his birth or manifestation is not mentioned by any author; only they tell us that Lewis, who was then on the throne, caused their synagogues to be pulled down, and the Jewish nation to be severely treated; from which circumstance we may conclude that he had imposed on a great part of his nation (X). In the course of the following year another appeared in Persia, and drew such multitudes after him, that the king thought fit to oblige the rest of the Jews to summon him, and order him to lay down his arms: he, at first, refused to comply; but at length seemed moved at the sight of the multitudes of children, which the sorrowful mothers brought before him to excite his pity. He then proposed to that monarch, that he should pay him the charges of the war, and let him lead his troops away unmolested; a proposal which, to the wonder of the Jews, was agreed to, the sum stipulated by the Messiah paid down, and the troops were disbanded. But the king finding himself out of danger, obliged the disarmed Jews to reimburse him the money; and, as some add, caused the impostor's head to be struck off^b.

Maimonides mentions a third, who appeared in Spain about ten years before he wrote, and brought a severe persecution on their nation. He was a native of Cordova, and was supported in his imposture by one of the greatest rabbies in that city, who wrote a book to prove beforehand the nearness of his appearing by the stars. The better and wiser sort looked upon the fellow as a madman; but as those are few, in comparison of the rest, they could not hinder his gaining credit among them, till

^b Solom. Ben Virg. ubi sup. 169. Lent de Pseudo Mess. Judæor. p. 36.

(X) Maimonides, who lived he fell, put him to death, and thirty years after, tells us, that with him the holy assembly the French, into whose hands bly (6).

(6) Epist. de Austral. Reg. apud Würst. Not. in Cantz Tzemaach, p. 293.

they were undeceived by his disappointment ¹. Ten years after that period, another cheat proclaimed the coming of the Messiah within a year; and his prediction proving false, occasioned new troubles and persecutions against that credulous people. This was in the kingdom of Fez, where another person proclaimed himself the Messiah lately foretold. In the same year an Arabian set up there for the Messiah, and pretended to work miracles; though our author Maimonides rather looked upon him as an enthusiast, who had more sincerity than judgment^k, and being consulted about him by the rest of the Jews, foretold them the fatal consequence which his and their delusion would bring upon them. His advice, however, did not hinder vast multitudes from following that impostor, who was apprehended at the end of a year, and brought before the king; where, being asked what had induced him to assume that character, boldly replied, that he was sent by God; and as a proof of his mission, told that monarch, that if he would order his head to be cut off, he should see him rise immediately after. The king took him at his word, and ordered him to be beheaded, upon which the cheat was sufficiently discovered. Those who had been deluded by him, were grievously punished; and the nation was condemned to very heavy fines.

At Fez.

A.D. 1167.

A new one there.

Beheaded by his own desire.

Some time after a leper, who found himself cured in the night of his stubborn disease, took it into his head, from that supposed miracle, that he was the Messiah: he went and proclaimed himself such beyond the Euphrates, and drew vast multitudes after him. The Jewish doctors, however, soon persuaded him and his followers, that this cure, miraculous as it seemed to be, was not a sufficient proof of his being the Messiah, and made them and him ashamed of their folly: but their appearing in arms on his account, had so exasperated the people, that they raised a fresh persecution against them; and one of their writers assures us^l, ten thousand of them, being quite tired with their sufferings on that account, forsook the Jewish religion, a circumstance which hath rendered the memory of that impostor odious to the whole nation. A new and severe persecution was raised in Persia, anno 1174, on account of a seventh false Messiah, who had seduced some of the common people, by such strange

A leper sets up for one.

Jews persecuted on his account.

A seventh in Persia.

¹ Maimon. Epist. de Reg. Aug. ap. Wurst. p. 292. ^k Maimon. Epist. ad Jud. in Massilia, apud Wurst. ubi sup. p. 292. ^l Id. Epist. de Austr. Region. ap. Wurst. p. 293.

tricks, that they looked upon him afterwards as conjurer or a devil^m.

*An eighth,
in Mora-
via.*

An eighth impostor, called David Almuffer, set up for the Messiah in Moravia. He boasted that he had the power of rendering himself invisible whenever he pleased; and drew vast multitudes after him. To prevent the ill consequence of such a concourse, the king sent to promise him his life, on condition that he surrendered himself into his hands. He did so; but that prince, instead of keeping his word with him, caused him to be flung into prison; from which, however, he soon escaped by the help of his art. They tried in vain to pursue him; he disappeared when he pleased, and the king, who went after him in person, had the mortification to see him, without being able to reach him. Tired at length with following him, he summoned the Jews, who were then very numerous, to seize and deliver him up; an order which they at length, out of fear of a new persecution, obeyed, and he was again imprisoned: but whether his art was now exhausted, or some counter-charm was used against it, he could neither escape from prison, nor out of the hands of the hangman (Y).

*Caught and
executed.*

*A ninth
named El-
david.*

*His cha-
and success.*

But the most famous of all, during this century, was David Alroi, or Eldavid, whom others commonly place in the year 1099 or 1200; but Benjamin de Tudela, who travelled anno 1173, speaks of him as having appeared ten years before. He was a native of Amaria, which city contained about one thousand Jews, who paid tribute to the king of Persia, and was well versed not only in the Talmudic learning, but likewise in the Chaldean magic, where he had gleaned some strange secrets by means of which he deluded the people. He applied himself at first to the chief of the captivity, and to that of the synagogue of Baghdad, but prevailed on the Jews settled on the mountain called Haphtan to take up arms, after he had deluded them with some pretended miracles. The Persian king, alarmed at this armament, and the progress it had made, sent him express orders to come immediately to court; promising him at the same time, that if he

^m Idem ibid.

(Y) Maimonides and Solomony, and in the time of Solomon above quoted, tell us of a man the son of Addreti; but a ninth impostor, who, they take no notice either of his name, say, lived in the twelfth century, or good or ill success.

proved

proved himself the Messiah, he would acknowledge him as a king sent from heaven. Eldavid, contrary to expectation, obeyed the summons, and assured the king that he was really the Messiah: upon which he was immediately clapt into prison, and was not to be acknowledged, till he had by some miracle extricated himself out of it: but whilst the king was deliberating what death to put him to, word was brought to him that the prisoner had fled. He dispatched several couriers after him; who upon their return, assured him that they had heard his voice, but had neither been able to see him or to lay hold on him. The king, suspecting them to have been corrupted, marched in person after him as far as the banks of the river Gozan, where he is said to have heard him call them fools, without seeing him. Soon after, they perceived him dividing the waters of that river with his mantle, and crossing it. The king began to think indeed that he might be the Messiah: but his officers assured him, that it was mere illusion; and so the army passed the river.

*Answer to
the king of
Persia.*

*Disap-
pears and
pursued in
vain.*

The king wrote immediately to the chiefs of the Jewish nation to deliver up Eldavid to him, under the penalty of being all massacred without mercy. This order obliged the chief of the captivity to send a submissive letter to him, desiring him to deliver himself up, and save his nation from destruction: but the impostor only made a jest of it, and absolutely refused their request. He continued his hostilities, till his father-in-law, being tempted by a promise of ten thousand crowns, invited him to a supper; and having plied him with wine, cut off his head, and sent it to the king: but Zaid Aladin, instead of keeping his word, insisted upon having all those Jews delivered up who had served under the impostor; a demand which they endeavouring to excuse themselves from, he caused a vast number of their nation to be butchered in his dominions^m. Thus much may serve for the false Messiahs of this century; from which detail, the reader may see the great propensity of the Jews to run after every impostor that sets up for a deliverer, and to join with him in taking up arms, and committing all kinds of outrages against those whom they called their enemies, whether Christians, Turks, or heathens.

*Betrayed by
his father-
in-law.*

*Jews mas-
sacred.*

We shall here again be obliged to join the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries together, to avoid being fre-

^m Ben Virg. Hist. Jud. p. 162.

*Decay of
the Jews
during the
thirteenth
and four-
teenth cen-
turies.*

*Chiefs of
the capti-
vity abo-
lished.*

*Jews apos-
tatize.*

*At peace
in Judea.*

*R. Moses
Nachma-
nides re-
sires into
Judea.*

quently forced to break off the thread of their history, and begin with those of the East, where we shall find them strangely dwindled, both in number and figure, especially with respect either to their chiefs, their academies, or learned men, of whom we hardly find any mention. With respect to the former, R. Petachiah, who travelled thither about the latter end of the last century, tells us that they were still in being and authorityⁿ; but it is most likely the persecution lately mentioned, which was not ended at the beginning of this, had put an effectual end to them; since which time their affairs have still gone from bad to worse; for soon after, Nesser Ledinillah, khalif of Baghdad, and a very zealous Mohammedan, as well as a person of consummate avarice, grew jealous of the too great wealth of the Jews, as well as of their too eager zeal after every impostor that set up for a Messiah, raised an open persecution against them, and obliged all that would not turn Mohammedans, to leave the Babylonish dominions^o; upon which, one part went away, and the rest chose to stay upon his terms. The wars that happened there in the sequel, under Melek al Nassar and his brother, against Holagu, alias Hulaku, emperor of the Tartars, his killing those two princes, after the taking of Baghdad, helped to complete their ruin in that country.

Judea was no less infested with the wars that raged between the Christians and Saracens; but these did not hinder the Jews from having some synagogues and learned rabbies in it. Here it was that the famed R. Moses Nachmanides, or, as his name is commonly abbreviated, Ramban, retired, and built a synagogue, and became one of the most celebrated cabalists that age produced. What made him change his native country, where he was so esteemed and beloved, for Judea, then so torn with wars, is not easy to guess; unless he perhaps had made himself obnoxious to the Spanish clergy, by the conferences he had held with some friars, particularly that before the king of Arragon and his court, anno 1263. The time of his death is likewise variously placed; by some anno 1300; at which rate he must have lived a hundred and six years; and by others forty years sooner; though that is eight years before the author of Juchasin makes him to have finished his Exposition of the Cabalistical law. His other

ⁿ D' Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. sub voc. Abulpharag. Dynast. ix. p. 532.

^o Itinerar. MS. ap. Wagensf. in Sotah.

most considerable works may be seen in the note (Z). However, the Jews made no great figure in Palestine, during this interval. They contented themselves with having the free use of their schools and synagogues; and Nachmanides was the only considerable doctor among them.

They did not fare much better in Egypt, where the invasion which St. Lewis made upon that kingdom, and the revolution that happened soon after under the Mamlukes, did not permit them to thrive either in wealth or learning; they being on the one hand excluded from having any share in public affairs; and on the other, obliged to set aside all thoughts of learning of any kind, inasmuch that we read not of one rabbi of any note among them. There was, indeed, one Simeon Duran, in some city of Africa, who published some works; but he was neither Egyptian nor African, but a native of Spain, whence he had brought with him the comment of rabbi Alphez, which he translated there, and he did not flourish till the latter end of the fourteenth century P.

A.D. 1391.

R. Simeon
Duran.
His works.

P D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient, sub voc.

(Z) 1. A Prayer on the Creation. 14. On that of the Wars of the Lord. 15. On that of Maimonides, called Jad Jad Chazakah. 16. Orders of Salvation, cabalistical. 17. Eden, the Garden of the Lord, ditto. 18. Jaleb's spring, ditto. 19. A Comment on Job. 20. On some Treatises of the Talmud. 21. A Treatise on the End or Coming of the Messiah. 22. On the Pomegranate, cabalistical. 23. Questions and Answers. 24. The Lily of Secrets, a cabalistical exposition by numbers. 25. The Square Table. 26. The Law of Man, or Directions how he ought to behave in Sickness, Death, Mourning, and Expectation of a future Life. 27. His Conference with a Dominican Friar.

The

*Saaddo-
dowlah
favoured
by Argun.*

A.D. 1291.

Murdered.

*Jews
peaceable
under the
Greeks.*

*Sad state in
the West.*

The Jews about Babylon, as well as the dispersed of the ten tribes eastward, had suffered much from the invasion of the Tatars; but at length gained a considerable respite under khân Argun, by means of a Jewish physician named Saaddodowlah, a learned man, and agreeable companion, whom that prince made his prime minister. The Christian historians do him that justice to own he left them in quiet possession of what they had in that empire; but he made use of all the interest he had with his prince to promote the interests of his own nation, and procured them some considerable privileges. They did not enjoy them long before Argun was taken dangerously ill, and died soon after. Saaddodowlah, who was hated by the Moslems and Arabs for his kindness to the Jews, was accused by them of having poisoned him, and put to death on this supposition; and after him a vast number of his nation were massacred. Nevertheless they found means to settle in the territories, and even in the court of the Moguls, after Argun's death, by the next century; but as we read of neither academies nor learned men amongst them, we may conclude that they were entirely engrossed by their worldly interest.

It is probable likewise that they enjoyed the same tranquility in the Grecian empire during these two centuries; at least we meet with nothing to the contrary. And what confirms us in the opinion that they enjoyed there a full liberty of their religion is, that the Greek writers of those times condemned the violence which the Latins exercised against them, in forcing them to be baptized, though themselves were the most forward to Judaize^q. These reproaches were but too well founded, considering the cruel usage which the Jews met with from the crusaders, both in the West before they set out, and through every place of the East where they arrived; and that the pope and his clergy had revived several Jewish customs in the church, such as the eating of the paschal lamb, unleavened bread, and some others^r.

It is time now to take a view of the Jewish state in the western parts, where we shall find them no less oppressed than they were numerous and wealthy; for the latter circumstance seldom failed of exciting the jealousy of the clergy, and of producing the former. In Spain they be-

^q Græci in Latinos ap. Coteler Mon. Eccles. Græc. tom. iii. p. 99—501—504—506—515.
^r Basnag. ubi supra, lib. ix. cap. 17. sect. 15.

gan to be persecuted from the commencement of the thirteenth century, by the bishop of Toledo, who beheld their increase in number and wealth with a jealous eye, and stirred up the populace against them; and putting himself at their head, went and broke into their houses and synagogues, which were plundered (A). The crusaders, who were then preparing for their expedition to the Holy Land^s, and were soon after to have their rendezvous near that city, completed what the prelate had begun, from a notion, that the destruction of those enemies of Christ, would undoubtedly obtain a blessing on their enterprize. They accordingly made such havock amongst them, that Abravanel looks upon this as one of the four severest persecutions which that nation had ever suffered^t; insomuch that he reckons that a greater number of them went out of Spain, than that which Moses brought out of Egypt. The Spanish nobility did indeed interpose their authority to suppress the cruelties exercised against them; but king Ferdinand, who was then endeavouring to ingratiate himself with the Zealots, by the persecution of the Albigenes and other heretics, encouraged the same against the Jews, as worse than all the rest.

A.D. 1209.

They were also accused of having stolen and crucified a young choirister of the cathedral of Saragossa, named Dominick. The discovery is, by the legendaries of those times, ascribed to a miraculous light observed on the grave in which they had laid him, by the sea side; upon which he was taken up and fainted, and placed in that cathedral church^u. The fact is backed with several other circumstances, almost as surprising, but yet justly rejected as fabulous by all but credulous bigots. However we do not find that it produced any persecution, though it served to render them odious, and expose them to the insults of the populace; which so intimidated them, that it helped to forward their conversion, which was then carrying on with great zeal and success, if those authors may be credited^w. Among those that were most zealous for this

A.D. 1250.

Accused of crucifying a youth.

^s Mariana, tom. xi. cap. 22. p. 490. ^t Abravanel in Isaiah, cap. 46. ^u Bezovius Annal. ad ann. 1250. ^w Vincent Blasco Peristephon Arragon, lib. iv. fol. 72. Tamaio Salazar Martyr. Hisp. p. 625, & seq.

(A) His pretence for this persecution, which reached, however, no farther than their goods and liberty of conscience, was raised by that prelate on account of their having formerly betrayed the city of Toledo to the Moors.

Pennaforte arrives to convert them. blessed work, was the learned Raymond Pennaforte, general of the Dominicans, who was then in high esteem with James I. king of Arragon, and his confessor, as well as minister with the pope. He had already, by his credit and address, suppressed the violence of the populace against them, and persuaded that prince, that the most gentle would be the most effectual means of converting them *.

A.D. 1255. Upon which several persons were pitched upon to learn the Hebrew and Arabic tongues, in order to qualify themselves to dispute with, and convince them of their errors by solid arguments. These accordingly acquired those tongues, and studied the sacred books so closely, that they easily discovered the errors and fables of the rabbies, and were able to foil them at their own weapons. Among other productions brought forth against them, one was the *Pugio Fidei*, attributed by some to our Dominican above mentioned, though it did not appear till three years after his death, and was written by another monk of that order, named Raymond Martini, and only encouraged and promoted by Pennaforte.

Alphonso X encourages the Jews. A.D. 1255. About the same time Alphonso X. king of Castile, a celebrated astronomer, being then about compiling those tables which have since gone by his name, gave no small encouragement to the Jewish rabbies, many of whom he found well versed in that science, and by that canal they easily insinuated themselves into his favour. Among them Judah de Toledo translated by his order the astronomical works of Avicenna, and improved them by a new division of the stars, which he divided into forty-eight constellations †. The most considerable of the Jews who assisted that prince in compiling his tables, were Aben Raghel, and Alquibits de Toledo, whom he styled his masters, Aben Musio, and Mahomad de Sevillea, Joseph Ben Halî, and Jacob Abvena of Cordova. He likewise made use of them in some other cases; and proved so generous a patron, that it excited the jealousy of the zealots, and put them upon hatching new plots and accusations against them; for it was probably about this time that three villains of the city of Orfana, in Andalusia, threw a dead corpse into the house of a Jew, and accused him of murder; upon which the populace rose and massacred a great number of them; whilst others took sanctuary in the houses of some Christians of their ac-

* Anonym. in Vit. R. Pennaforte.
 † letan. lib. xxi. cap. 8. MS. & lib. 22. cap. 12.

† Higuera, Histor. To-
 quaintance.

quaintance. It was then then the passover, and they finding nothing there but leavened bread, which is forbidden during the whole solemnity, many of them were like to have been starved; as they chose rather to fast than to break the law^z. The inhabitants of Palma likewise fell upon, and killed many of them; upon which they desired their brethren to send a deputation to court, to obtain the suppression of a massacre which was like to prove general. But the deputies were so closely pursued by their enemies, that they were forced to quit the highway, and shelter themselves in a wood to avoid being murdered by the way; by which means these last had got to court, and laid their accusation before the deputies could reach it. Joseph, who was at the head of the deputation, and chief of the Jewish council, however, pleaded his cause so well, that he was admired by all the court, and the Jewish nation absolved from the pretended murder; but the king took occasion from thence to charge them with several other abuses, by which they made themselves justly odious to the Christians (B). Their accusers still insisted that the Jew should be put to the torture, to know whether he had committed the murder; but he escaped that punishment by causing the tomb to be opened, out of which the body had been taken and flung into that house^a.

*Massacred
at Orsana.*

*At Palma.
Acquitted.
by the
king.*

Among those learned Jews, that flourished in the reign of king Alphonso, was the famed Mithridos, as he is called by Gantz, though he was the son of Theodore, prince of the Levites at Burgos. There was at the same time another Meir at Narbonne, with whom he is often confounded, who was likewise a great doctor, and had, like him, a great number of disciples. The king of Arragon, James I. though a devout man, was so far from adopting the reigning zeal against the Jews, that he is affirmed to have called them to his assistance, to have learned moral lessons from them, and even to have borrowed some of their prayer books, and used them in his private devotions. So that though they were hated by the populace, and the ignorant among the clergy, the great and the learned not only protected, but admired and encouraged them. However, this happiness was clouded again, by several acci-

A. D. 1264.

*Loved by
king James
of Arragon.*

^z Solom. Ben Virg. p. 78 ad 92. ^a Id. ibid.

(B) These were their grievous extortions and excessive usury, the richness and finery of their dress, and the state and grandeur with which they appeared in the streets.

dents and misfortunes which befel them some time before the close of the thirteenth, and the beginning of the fourteenth century.

A.D. 1258.

*Jews in
Spain de-
ceived by
an impostor.*

The first was occasioned by two impostors, who went hand in hand in a design to impose upon all the synagogues of Spain. The principal of them, named Zachariah, did not indeed set up for the Messiah, but pretended he had found out, by his skill in the prophets (C), the time of his appearing, which he told them was just at hand. He named the very day, and the Jews, who had prepared themselves by fasting and alms, went on that day to the synagogues clothed in white, and in high expectation of the Messiah. A Jew, who afterwards turned monk, and wrote against his nation, an. 1458, adds, that they were greatly surprised to find not only their garments all covered with red crosses, but likewise the linen they had in their houses^b. It is indeed more likely, that the only cross was the shame of being deceived, and exposed to the laughter and insults

A.D. 1290.

By a rabbi.

of the Christians. They were deceived in a different way, about thirty years after, by a poor rabbi, named Moses de Leon; who, not being able to maintain his numerous family by the small income of his synagogue, took it into his head to sell complete copies of the book Zohar, which till then could only be had by piece-meal^c; and which he had supplied out of his own head. At length, the learned found a sufficient difference between the old and the new, to convince them of the cheat; and this was a new subject of shame and insult, not only on the rabbi, but on the nation.

A.D. 1320.

*Irruption of
the shep-
herds.*

But the most dreadful of all their disasters was that which happened to them about the beginning of the fourteenth century, occasioned by the irruption of a band of enthusiastic shepherds, who pretended to work miracles; and, being swelled into a numerous army, carried fire and sword into many provinces, and were not suppressed till after a

^b Alphonso de Spina, Fortalit. Fidei, titul. iii. ^c Bartoloc. ubi sup. tom. iv. p. 82.

(C) A superstitious belief prevailed among the Jews, that if any man could attain to the true pronounciation of the Hebrew name of God, he would be able to work the greatest miracles, and dive into the deepest counsels of God. This fellow not only pretended to have found it out, but instead of concealing it, as had been done till then, published and dispersed it among all the Jewish synagogues of Spain.

dreadful

dreadful effusion of blood (D). The Jews in particular bore their share of the cruelties which those enthusiasts committed wherever they came; and these laid the foundation for a long train of misfortunes, which attended them during the remainder of this century. Happy were they that could save their lives at the expence of their religion and wealth; but those that refused to part with either, were inhumanly butchered every where. The pestilence, which spread itself from the shepherds army to the neighbouring countries, proved also the source of new disasters to the Jews, who were accused of having bribed the peasants of Mesura to poison the waters of the river, and having furnished them with the poison; upon which vast numbers were clapt in prison, and informations were lodged against them. They did indeed clear themselves of that imputation, after a long imprisonment; but the king, who had no mind to own the injustice he had done to them in detaining such great numbers so long a time in gaol, pretended he had taken that step with a view of

A.D. 1321.

Jews doubly persecuted.

(D) The origin of these shepherds is variously related. The French historians affirm, that it began in France under the reign of Philip the Long; and that the pretence for their rising was the conquest of the Holy Land. They had a degraded priest and a runaway monk at their head, who, by their pretended sanctity and miracles, so imposed on the credulity of the common people, that they left their flocks and farms, to follow them; whilst the noblemen, being hurried away by the stream, protected them, till they found themselves obliged to destroy them, to avoid being plundered. They ravaged several of the southern provinces, broke open the prison doors, and listed all the malefactors they found into their society; by which means they had made themselves masters of several cities, and com-

mitted the vilest outrages and cruelties, but more particularly against the Jews. To avoid which, a considerable number of them retired into a castle, under the protection of the French king; in which they were soon after closely besieged by the shepherds, with a design to destroy them all. After a stout and desperate defence, the besieged, finding their arms to fail, began to fling their children over the walls, in hopes to move their compassion, but in vain; for the besiegers set fire to the gates, and entered the place, where, to their great disappointment, they found nothing but the carcases of the besieged, and some children that had been left alive: for they had butchered one another, to prevent falling into the hands of those merciless barbarians (2).

(2) Basnag. lib. xix. cap. 10.

converting them; and, upon their refusal of baptism, caused 15000 to be burnt alive^d.

A.D. 1333.

*Alphonso's
edict against
them.*

Alphonso XI. their friend and protector, though wholly guided by one Joseph a Jew of Astigi, then intendant of his finances, was nevertheless prevailed upon by his mutinous subjects to issue out an edict against them, on account of an indignity pretended to have been offered by a Jewish boy to the sacrament, as it was carried through the streets. The complaints of the zealous against them were grown to such a height, that a council was called on that very night, to deliberate whether they should be massacred or banished, and, the latter course being preferred, they were ordered to depart the kingdom in three months. Happily for them, the prince royal obtained a revision of the process; by which it was found that it was a young Christian, whose curiosity had brought him to the window to see the procession, and had by chance overturned a pot of water on the chalice; upon which the king recalled his edict, to the great mortification of the zealots, who gave out that the young Christian had been bribed to make that friendly deposition in favour of the Jews^e. This acquittal did not hinder them however from carrying on their resentment against them in another town, where they massacred some of them under the same pretence; and might, in all likelihood, have gone a much greater length, had not the king caused ten of the mutinous ringleaders to be hanged.

Recalled.

*Jews mas-
sacred at
Toledo.*

A.D. 1349.

*Their de-
spair.*

They had scarcely escaped this danger, before they found themselves involved in a more dreadful adventure, from a fresh insurrection made against them at Toledo; in which they behaved in such a desperate manner, as can hardly be read without horror. R. Asher had some time before fled thither from his own native place of Nothemburgh, with eight sons, one of whom, perceiving the zealots breaking into the house with an intent to massacre them all, was seized with such fury and despair, that he killed all his relations that had taken shelter in his house, together with his own wife, and that of his brother Jacob; and last of all dispatched himself, to avoid falling into the hands of those butchers. Alphonso XI. who was still alive, and a great friend to them, was forced to suffer that sedition, which he found impossible to suppress. His son and successor Peter, surnamed the Cruel, who mounted the throne

^d Solom. Ben Virg. p. 181. & seq. Vid. & Basnag. lib. ix. cap. 18. sect. 8.

^e Solom. Ben Virg. p. 181, & seq. Mariana Hist. Hisp. tom. ii. lib. xv. p. 38.

next year, being some time after killed, at the taking of Toledo by his natural brother Henry de Tristemar, this last went and besieged Burgos, where the Jews had fortified themselves in their quarter, and refused to surrender to him; alleging, that Peter, whom they believed still living, was their lawful king, and vowing, that they would sooner sacrifice their lives than receive any other master than the true heir to the crown. This singular instance of loyalty so affected Henry, that he granted them much better terms when they came over to his side.

Accordingly Tristemar, at his accession to the crown, made Don Meir his physician: but dying some time after, not without suspicion of having been poisoned, Meir was put to the torture, and confessed that he had killed the king. Other Spanish authors, however, such as Gufman and Mariana, think that he was rather poisoned by a Moor, whom the king of Grenada had sent thither for that purpose. But as his death was occasioned by a weakness in his nerves, there is no great probability that he was poisoned, especially by his physician, to whom he had been so good a friend. This consideration, however, did not hinder the Jews from being hated and insulted on that account. They complain accordingly, that, towards the latter end of the fourteenth century, the monks, from a principle of zeal, declared themselves their irreconcilable enemies; and had obtained, by the queen's means, an edict for expelling them the kingdom; but that princess, being told that it was not right to root up a vine that bore good fruit, suffered herself to be bought off by the sum of fifty thousand crowns.

They suffered much more under the reign of Henry III. of Castile, when Martin, archdeacon of Astigi, went preaching through the streets of Seville and Cordova, and so exasperated the people, that they massacred the Jews in both places. The fire spread itself to Toledo, Valencia, and Barcelona, where they plundered some, and murdered others; whilst the more artful Hebrews changed their religion, to escape violence. The great and populous synagogues of Seville and Cordova became, in some measure, desert; the young king still pursuing them. Those that retired into Andalusia, and other provinces, were murdered by the inhabitants. His son John proved no less cruel to them; insomuch that those who had concealed themselves under his father's reign, perished under his, being de-

Fidelity to king Peter.

Meir tortured for poisoning the king.

Persecuted by Henry III.

• Cardoso, Las Excellentias, p. 371, & seq.

In Arragon.

Learned
men.

prived even of the necessaries of life, and obliged to wear a red mark of distinction, by which they were easily known. Those of Arragon did not fare much better than these of Castile, that kingdom being torn by intestine wars, which could not be maintained without heavy taxes; with which the Jews were not only the heaviest loaded, but exposed to continual vexations and prosecutions, which reduced them to the lowest degree of misery^f. All these grievances did not prevent their having several learned men during this century; the most eminent of whom the reader will find in the margin (E). But it is now time to see

^f Solom. BenVirg. Mariana. Bzov. & al.

(E) We may place at their head the famed Isaac Sciprut, or rather Sprott, one of the bitterest enemies and violent writers against the Christians. Authors are not indeed agreed about the time in which he flourished, though they all place him in the fourteenth century: some an. 1374, and others 1390.

His son, Shem Tob, or *Good Name*, inherited all his father's hatred against the Christians. He flourished, an. 1375, and translated St. Matthew's gospel into Hebrew, and gave it the title of *אבן בורן*, Eben Bochen, or the *Touchstone*, probably to render it more contemptible to his nation; the Gospels being esteemed by Christians, the touchstone or rule of their faith. He wrote afterwards his disputes against the Christian mysteries; to which he added, the contradictions of his antagonist, master Alphonso the Apostate. He published another treatise on Paradise, in which he endeavours to shew, that most of the stories in the Talmud ought to be understood allegorically.

We must here take notice, that there have been several

rabbies of his name; particularly Shem Tob of Leon, who wrote a treatise against the Eucharist, in order to seduce a young Jew, who was retired to Avignon where the Pope then resided. He wrote likewise his *Derek Gadol Emunah*, or *Highway to Truth*, in which he pretended to prove the truth of the Jewish religion by philosophical demonstrations. There was a third of that name, the son of Joseph Palkera, who lived in the sixteenth century; he was not only a celebrated preacher, and printed his sermons on the Pentateuch, and the great festivals of the year, but was the author of a letter, or dispute, whether piety is to be preferred to the study of the law, or this to that: which letter is held in great esteem.

Another learned rabbi of this century, was Solomon Ben Chanok, who came from Constantinople to Burgos, that he might display the depths of the divine law. For that was the title of a book which he wrote; and in which he explained the most difficult texts of the Pentateuch, and the Rabbinic glosses, which were either too metaphorical or hyperbolical. Zerachiah the Younger

see how they fared in other parts of Europe during these two centuries.

France was not more favourable to them. We saw them in the twelfth century banished and recalled by king Philip; and they were no sooner settled in it, than they resumed their old usury and extortions; by which they not only became powerful and wealthy, but bought lands and estates, and grew so insolent and tyrannical, that the government was again obliged to make new laws to suppress the monstrous abuses which they daily committed. But as those laws did not prove sufficient to put a stop to that evil, St. Lewis, in the beginning of his reign, called a council at Melun; in which a new law was made, expressly forbidding all his subjects to borrow any money from the Jews². But the most remarkable of all was that which John le Roux, duke of Brittany, published against them, in the year 1239. They were then very numerous, and dispersed through that province, and every where such great usurers, that the people were almost ruined by them; upon which the nobility and merchants joined in a complaint to the duke, who immediately summoned the states of that duchy; and in that assembly was passed that law, the substance of which the reader will find in the margin, and which was prefaced, among other things, with these words: "At the request of the bishops, abbots, barons, and vassals of Brittany, all the Jews shall be for ever banished from it (F)."

A.D. 1218.

Jews persecuted in France.

A.D. 1239.

In Brittany.

The

² Vid. Decret. Philip August. de Judeis, an. 1218. Spicilege Dacherii, tom. vi. p. 471. Stabiliment. ap. Melend. Ibid. p. 473. Basnag. lib. ix. cap. 20. seq. 2.

Younger flourished about the same time with Shem Tob, and is therefore different from one of the same name, who lived in the twelfth century, and was a native of Lunel, in Languedoc (3).

(F) It was farther enacted by it, 1st. That all the debts due to the Jews should be discharged; and that those who had received any pledges from

them, should keep them. 2d. That all that should kill a Jew, should be deemed guiltless; and a prohibition was made to the judges to take cognizance of any such facts. 3d. That the king of France should be desired to do the same in his dominions; that is, to banish them, to strip them of their property, and to permit his subjects to butcher them. 4th.

(3) Bartol. tom. iii. p. 927. Wolf. Bibl. Rabb. n. 2157, & seq. p. 1127, & seq.

- A.D. 1240. The famed council of Lyons, which excommunicated the emperor, passed a decree, enjoining, under pain of excommunication, all the Christian princes who had any Jews in their dominions, to oblige them to refund to the crusaders all the usury they had got by lending to their subjects, on pain of being deprived of all the privileges of civil society. The Jews were likewise forbidden by it to demand any debts due from the crusaders till their return, or till an authentic certificate was received of their death^d. The
- A.D. 1267. council of Vienna, held in the same century, found itself obliged likewise to defend the Christians against the vexatious suits as well as extortions of the Jews. Notwithstanding all which decrees and precautions, the Jews still found means to maintain themselves; insomuch, that in some provinces of France, particularly in Languedoc, they had the privilege of being raised to the magistracy, and, in most places of the kingdom, to have Christian slaves, a circumstance which was attended with very great inconveniences, and often with enormous abuses (G).
- A.D. 1236. But the greatest persecution that befel them, during this interval, was that which was raised against them by the

^d Conc. Lugd. can. xvii. tom. ii. p. 636.

The duke did then engage for himself, and his successors, for the time present and to come, to maintain the same law against them inviolate; in default of which the bishops were not only impowered to excommunicate him, but to confiscate all the lands he had in their respective dioceses, without regard to any privileges then annexed, or hereafter to be annexed, to them. 5th. Lastly, he declared, that no vassals of Brittany should be admitted to pay homage, till they had sworn before two bishops or barons to conform to this law, and not to suffer any Jews to live in their territories (1).

(G) The continuators of

Baronius give an instance of a young Christian woman, who had been by her Jewish master inspired with such contempt of the Christian mysteries, that, having communicated on Easter-day, as usual, she conveyed the consecrated wafer to her master in a handkerchief; and adds, that, upon clapping it into his purse, in which were seven pieces of silver, he found them all turned into wafers. It was well that his avarice did not provoke him to offer some great indignity to those miraculous symbols; but he was struck with such a reverence for them, that he acknowledged his crime, and desired to become a Christian (2).

(1) D'Argentre, Hist. de Bretagn. lib. iv. cap. 23. p. 207.
 (2) Bzov. Ann. sub A. D. 1213. N. 19. Spondan. sub eod. an. N. 25. p. 53.

Parisians, in the reign of St. Lewis, on account, as was pretended, of their sacrificing some Christian children on Good Friday, and using their blood on their Passover solemnity; for which impiety many of them were cruelly butchered in that metropolis. It did not stop there; but spread itself into the provinces of Brie, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, and Maine, where above two thousand five hundred, who refused to turn Christians, were put to the most torturing deaths; and the mischief would, in all likelihood, have made more progress, had not the pope interposed, and sent a letter to desire that monarch to let them have liberty of conscience^e. But though this interposition put a stop to their misery at present, it did not prevent their suffering greatly under the crusade of shepherds, which was raised during his imprisonment in the Holy Land, in order to go thither to release him; and which was carried on with the same enthusiastic fury as that which we have mentioned in speaking of Spain. The head of that rabble was an Hungarian named James, first a Mohammedan, then a Cistercian monk, and now a deserter from that order. He led them first to Orleans, where he massacred all the priests and friars he could find; thence he marched to Bourges, where he caused all the Jewish books to be seized, in order to burn them; and so went on, committing the vilest disorders, till he and his followers were at length overpowered, and a great many of them put to death^f. We are told of a conference which was held in the year following, between R. Jechiel, a learned cabalistical Jew, and Nicholas Donim, a famed convert from Judaism, before queen Blanche, then regent of the kingdom, and a private encourager of this new crusade. The Christians and Jews give us different accounts of the success of it; but that St. Lewis was no friend to the Jews, plainly appears from the edict which he sent whilst under his confinement, to have them banished out of France, which his queen regent punctually executed. The Jews, however, pretend that it was the king himself that banished them after his return.

*Persecuted
under St.
Lewis.*

A.D. 1253.

*Banished
out of
France.*

They were recalled in the next reign by Philip the Bold, a prince of a sweet disposition, who was moreover induced to take this step from their known usefulness in promoting trade, making money circulate, and thereby improving

A.D. 1275.

Recalled.

^e Innocent III. Epist. 155. ^f Vide Gest. S. Ludovic. per Guil-
helm. de Nangiac. Hist. Franc. Script. tom. v. p. 359. Matth.
Paris, Hist. Angl. Hen. III. p. 530.

A.D. 1190.

*Levi Ben
Gershom.*

A.D. 1288.

*Jews in
Gascony
banished by
Edward I.*

his finances, which were almost exhausted. They became powerful and wealthy under his reign; but they were afterwards wholly banished in great numbers by Philip the Fair, as will be seen in its proper place. Towards the latter end of the thirteenth century flourished the famed rabbi Levi Ben Gershom, and grandson, by a daughter, of R. Nachmanides. He was born in Provence^g, which being then subject to Spain, both French and Spaniards claim him as their countryman (H). Gascony had likewise a great number of Jews, who had gained such an ascendant there, that complaint was made to Edward I. then in possession of it, by an English knight, who, having mortgaged some lands to one of them, and summoned him before a judge, refused to appear or release the mortgage. The king gave the Jew to understand that he must comply; and that, though he had suffered them to enjoy all the privileges which his father had granted to them, yet, if he found they had abused them, he would himself be judge, and shew, that he did not design to give them the preference over the Christians; upon which the Jew submitted to the law. But the king having soon after escaped being killed by a clap of thunder which passed over his bed, and killed two of his officers in the same chamber, thereupon banished them out of Gascony, and all his other dominions in France^h. There had, by this time, crept such abominable abuses among the Christians, as well as the Jews, in all those Gallic parts (I), that pope Nicholas

^g Gantz Tzemach, p. 145. Bartoloc. ubi sup. Wolf. ubi sup. N. 348. p. 726. ^h Walsingham, Vit. Reg. Angl. p. 53.

(H) He wrote a comment on the Pentateuch, which he finished in the year 1330, wherein he affirmed that the angels there mentioned to have appeared to Abraham, Balaam, &c. were only visions and dreams, and would never be prevailed on to admit of the different interpretations of the Talmud concerning them.—Eight years after, he published his comment on Samuel, and some other works, which the reader may see in Bartolucci and Wolf above quoted, and

lived to see the ruin of his own nation in France.

(I) Among the former, there were many that had turned to the Jewish religion; and these were circumcised in some peculiar manner, by which they might be known from the original Jews. Others judaized only in part, observing the Sabbath, going to their synagogues, lighting of candles, and offering their prayers and oblations there; though, in other cases, they conformed to the established religion. The
Jews,

las IV. was obliged to send orders to all his inquisitors there, to be more watchful over them both, and to suppress all those scandalous practices; which they did accordingly, with great exactness as well as severity. However, it is not unlikely, that our king Edward, being then on the point of going to the holy war, had, like the rest of the crusaders, given into the notion, that the persecution of those enemies to Christ was the most effectual means of obtaining a blessing on that enterprize.

His example was, not long after, followed by Philip the Fair, who wholly banished them out of his dominions; and though several causes are assigned for their expulsion, yet it is commonly allowed that he did that good deed from a bad principle, that is, in order to enrich himself by their plunder, and sacrificed the whole nation to his extreme avarice¹: for he seized on all their wealth and effects, and suffered them to take only their cloaths, and as much money as would conduct them out of the kingdom; by which means great numbers perished in the way, and the rest happily reached Germany: and hence it is, that

Great abuses among them.

A.D. 1300.

Banished by Philip.

¹ Contin. Chron. Guil. Nangis, sub A. D. 1310. Dachre. Spicil. tom. xi. p. 637. ap. Basnag. ubi sup. sec. 6.

Jews, on the other hand, not only had from these instances been industrious in unhinging and perverting the Christians, but in reclaiming the converts which those had made upon them, insomuch, that there was a new order of Rejudaizers, as they were called by them, or Relapsed, as the Christians styled them, who were re-admitted into the synagogue by washings and other ceremonies; and these commonly went with their crowns shaven, like the monks.

We are told of another kind of abuse under that pontiff: a woman, who had pledged her best cloaths to a Jew, went to desire the use of them for the Easter holidays; which he re-

fused, unless she brought him a consecrated wafer: this she did; and he having pierced it in several places, and, perceiving it bleed abundantly, he flung it into boiling water. Some Christians coming in at that instant to borrow money of him, perceived it, and went and indicted him for it. He was accordingly condemned; all his effects were confiscated, his house demolished, and the church of St. Saviour built upon that spot. The reader is at liberty to believe or reject this story; but we shall find in the sequel, that very many of their persecutions and sufferings in these late centuries were founded upon such abuses and miraculous discoveries (1).

(1) Vid. Basnag. ubi supra, cap. xx. sec. 10. Wolf. Bartol. ubi supra.

the generality of the German Jews look upon themselves as of French extract. Those only saved themselves from banishment who embraced Christianity; among whom was the famed Nicholas de Lyra, who wrote more learnedly and strongly against the Jews than any did either before or since (K). But of those that were baptised, few were so sincere, and many of them relapsed, and shewed their resentment by spitting upon the images of the saints, and other such indignities: one of them was burnt alive four years after this edict; and yet the Jews pretend, that Philip died suddenly by a fall in hunting, as a punishment for this injustice to them^k, an assertion which is manifestly false.

A.D. 1314.

Recalled.

They were, however, recalled eight years after, by his successor Lewis, surnamed Hutin or Mutin, in order to replenish his empty coffers, recover his finances, and make trade flourish. He exacted also great sums of them for their liberty, which they readily granted; and, in consequence of it, lived very peaceably during his reign; but that proving short, they were again exposed to new troubles^l. We have already taken notice of what they suffered in Spain and France, under the second invasion

A.D. 1330.

*Persecuted
afresh,
in language,
&c.*

of the enthusiastic shepherds. This misfortune was soon followed by another, pretended to have been occasioned by their suffering themselves to be bribed by the Saracen king of Granada to poison all the rivers, wells, and re-

^k Solom. Ben Virg. p. 149.

^l Solom. Ben Virg. p. 149, & seq.

(K) There is some controversy about his native country, as well as about his being a convert from Judaism; though with respect to the latter, his great skill in the Hebrew and rabbinic learning, will not suffer us to doubt of his having been of Jewish extract and education. However, after his conversion, he studied some time in the university of Paris; after which he entered into the Franciscan order, and wrote his treatise against the Jews, and employed his whole life in commenting and expounding

the sacred books, which he divided, as the Jews and Protestants do, into canonical and apocryphal. He seems indeed to have been too fond of Aristotle's philosophy, then in vogue; but, in the main, he was justly esteemed one of the best and most judicious commentators in that age, as may appear by the monkish verses in praise of him:

Si Lyranus non lyrasset,
Totus mundus aberrasset.

He died in his convent of Ver-neuil, anno 1340 (1).

(1) Spondan. An. Eccl. sub A. D. 1306.

fervors

fervoirs of water; they themselves being too much suspected, to perpetrate this villainy in their own persons, committed the execution of it to a number of lepers, whom they hired by dint of money, and the prospect of the rich spoils of the dead (L). The waters were accordingly found poisoned in France and Germany. A leper having deposed, that a certain rich Jew had hired him for this purpose, the information was sent to court; the lepers were all either imprisoned, or confined to their lazaretto; and the people in several provinces, especially in Languedoc, without staying for farther orders, fell upon the Jews, and massacred them in such a barbarous manner as cannot be read without horror; whilst the pretended criminals marched to the flames, and other cruel executions, with such joy, as if they had been going to a wedding. Those of Paris were used with more equity, where they only put the guilty to death. Others were banished, and the rich imprisoned till they had discovered all their treasures and effects; by which Philip, surnamed the Long, proved a very considerable gainer. Great numbers of them were likewise massacred in Dauphiné, and their effects confiscated for the use of the dauphin^m.

Dauphiné.

Charles, whilst dauphin of Viennois and duke of Normandy, was forced afterwards to recall them, during his father's imprisonment, and the disorders that reigned in his dominions: at his accession to the throne, he confirmed their former privileges, and only obliged them to wear some mark of distinction. But being afterwards disordered in his senses, or, as some affirm, bewitched, the Jews began again to be accused of committing some murders,

A.D. 1356.*Recalled,*

^m *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire du Dauphine, ap. Basnage, ubi supra § 7, & seq.*

(L) This accusation appears from many circumstances, with which it is transmitted to us, to be altogether false. Such as, that the lepers convened four general councils of the deputies from every lazaretto in Christendom, in which they disposed before hand of all the dignities, and estates of those that were to be poisoned by

those waters; the deposition made by one of them, before the lord of Pernay, specifies the receipt for poisoning them, viz. human blood and urine, three sorts of weeds, and a consecrated wafer, which were to be tied in a bag, and flung into them; and some others equally ridiculous and incredible.

and

*Banished
for ever
out of
France.
Obtain
their pri-
vileges at
Metz.*

and other outragesⁿ; for which some of them were hanged, others scourged, and the synagogues fined; severities, which obliged many of them to turn Christians. At length appeared that edict which for ever banished their whole nation from the French dominions; and it is from that sad epocha, that they have since reckoned their years. We must, however, except the city of Metz in Lorraine, in which they have preserved their ancient privileges and synagogue. This was afterwards confirmed to them by Lewis XIII. and an edict granted in their favour, by which all criminal causes relating to them, were to be referred to the council; and their ancient privileges confirmed: which edict, given at St. Germain, bears date 1617.

*Jews in
Italy, dur-
ing the
thirteenth
and four-
teenth cen-
turies,
favoured
by the
pope.*

Let us now take a view of them in Italy, and other parts of Europe, during these two centuries. We begin with Italy, where we find the pope still very favourable and kind to them, both in his own territories, and wherever his authority reached. We have seen these pontiffs receive with open arms those whom Ferdinand X. and other zealous princes, had banished out of their dominions; though at the same time they seemed to commend their zeal against them. Gregory IX. now on the papal throne, followed the steps of his predecessors; and, though he was a zealous promoter of the holy war, yet observing, that the crusaders began their pious work in divers places with the massacre of the Jews, he took all the proper methods of preventing such barbarity. They were grown very numerous also in the kingdom of Naples, particularly in that capital, and the city of Trani; where they had very learned rabbies and good poets, who were protected and caressed by the king, on account of some signal services they had done him. He likewise recommended them at his death to his states; but these thought it a greater kindness to try to convert them than to give them the full enjoyment of their religion; so that, to avoid the impending persecution, they promised to turn Christians, with a permission included to marry the daughters of the richest and noblest families in the kingdom. Every body was surprised at such a compromise (except the clergy, who were willing to convert them at any price); and much more still to see such marriages permitted in favour of conversions so little to be depend-

*By the
king of
Naples.*

*Massacred
at Trani.*

ⁿ Du Hailau, Hist. de France, lib. xvii. sub. an. 1395.

ed upon: for those who could not thus marry to advantage, made no scruple to relapse. It was therefore upon this last account, that a monk of Trani took it into his head to punish them; and having buried a cross in a dunghill, charged a Jew of that city with the fact. This circumstance was enough to raise the fury of the zealots, who immediately butchered all the Jews they could lay hands on. The riot passed from thence to Naples, where they would likewise have been murdered, had not the chief of the nobility interposed, and concealed the most wealthy, and consequently the most obnoxious, in their houses, and thereby saved them from the fury of the populace. Pope Alexander IV. who then reigned at Rome, was so far from being suspected to encourage that persecution, that he endeavoured to suppress it; but his interposition proved fruitless, and he died soon after. However, as the nobility had done it so effectually, there was the less need of his intervention.

At Naples.

The marquise of Ancona, though not then in the pope's possession, had likewise been very favourable to them, and allowed them full liberty of conscience. And here it was that the famed R. Menahem, a native of Ricina Nova, did, by some kind of miracle, from a most stupid dunce, become one of the greatest cabalists of that age (M). We have lately seen, how Clement V. who had moved the papal seat to Avignon, strove to stop the persecution of the shepherds against them, as far as his anathemas could do it: he was no less industrious to promote their instruction; and ordered that every university should have professors to teach the Hebrew tongue, and to bring up men that should be able to dispute with and convince them by their own books°. His successor indeed, John XXII. took a contrary method, being induced thereto by a zealous sister, and much more so by some of his bishops, whom she had brought with her, and who

A.D. 1280.

*Peaceable
at Ancona.*

A.D. 1320.

° Solomon Ben Virg. p. 123.

(M) The Jews tell us, that he fell asleep one day in the synagogue, where he saw, in a dream or vision, a man who offered him a vessel full of water, of which he had scarcely drunk a draught, before he found himself as learned as he had been before ignorant. He is commonly known by the name of Recanati, from the place of his birth; and wrote several learned treatises in the cabalistical way (7).

(7) Shalsheleth, p. 61. Bartoloc. ubi supra. Basnage, & alib.

had

*An edict
against
them, re-
voked.*

*Protected
by Cle-
ment VI.*

A.D. 1394.

*Jews at
Bologna.*

had accused the Jews of having shewn some indignity to the cross, as it was carried in procession before them.

This charge produced an edict, banishing them from all the territories of the church; which caused so much the greater consternation among them, as they were grown very numerous and rich under the favour of his predecessors. They applied themselves to Robert, king of Jerusalem, a good friend of their's, and a favourite of that pontiff, who soon after prevailed upon him to revoke his edict, provided his sister could be satisfied about it; he accordingly abrogated it as soon as she had received one hundred thousand florins from the Jews. It is plain, therefore, that this edict was issued out against his inclination, since he was so easily prevailed upon to recall itⁿ. We have seen already how Clement VI. endeavoured to suppress the persecution which was raised against them in Spain, France, and Germany, on the absurd pretence of their poisoning the rivers; and made no difficulty to give them a safe sanctuary in his dominions. Some historians have indeed accused him of doing it out of covetousness; but he easily retorted the charge against them, by shewing, that these persecutions were only raised against them with a view of plundering them of all their riches. His very inquisitors, who exercised such severities against the Albigenes, a kind of ancient Protestants, suffered the Jews to live in peace, and seldom gave them any disturbance, but when they found them guilty of some such enormous abuses as those we have lately taken notice of.

They were no less numerous and powerful at Bologna, where, besides their old synagogue, which was too small to contain them, they built a new one much larger and finer, and erected a kind of academy in that city. This last owes its erection to one of the family of the Hannaharim, who was then going from Rome thither. This family, which deduces its original from those Jews whom Titus transplanted from Jerusalem to Rome, had continued there till the latter end of the fourteenth century, and was both numerous and considerable; but about this time went and settled at Bologna, where they grew so wealthy that they built stately houses, and the synagogue above mentioned, which is the noblest in all Italy (N).

We

ⁿ Basnag. ubi supra lib. ix. cap. 19. § 8.

(N) The Jews here presented with a Bible said to have been Emeric, the pope's inquisitor, written by Ezra; which is still care-

We do not read of any thing worth mentioning concerning the Jews in England, till the time of king John; except that they were invited into this kingdom by William the Conqueror. Even so early as the reign of king Stephen, anno 1145, they were accused of crucifying a young Christian, in contempt of Christ and his religion, and were accordingly punished for it; they were again prosecuted for the same atrocious fact at Gloucester, in the reign of Henry II. anno 1160; and for a third, committed at St. Edmondsbury, anno 1181: but in all probability those were false accusations trumped up, for pretences to oppress and fleece the individuals of that nation.

Jews in England

Invited by William the Conqueror.

Accused of crucifying Christian children.

The reign of king John was so troubled with intestine feuds, that he was forced to maintain himself by the hardest exactions; the heaviest of which fell of course on the Jews in his dominions, whom he caused to be imprisoned, and put to violent tortures, when they refused to pay such taxes as he laid on them (O). At length, he ° confiscated all their effects, and banished them by a

A.D. 1210.

Banished by king John.

° Trivet. Math. Paris, Chronic. an. 1210, p. 159.

carefully preserved in the library of the Dominicans there. It hath the following inscription in Hebrew, at the end of the Pentateuch;

“ This is the book of the law of Moses, which Ezra had wrote, and which he read on a wooden desk to a numerous assembly both of men and women.”

But there is added another Latin one, in which it is affirmed, that that roll of the law was written by Ezra's own hand at his return from the Babylonish captivity: 2. That it is assuredly the original from the testimony of the ancient Jews, who received it in their synagogues, where it was kept: 3. That the Jews believed it such from one generation to another; and as such presented it to Emeric: 4. That the

learned rabbies, who had examined it before witnesses, had acknowledged it as such, from some peculiar characters and strokes which are not to be met with in the modern manuscripts: 5. It is there affirmed to have been the manuscript which was shewn to the people on festival days; whence it is concluded, that it ought to be held in great veneration, and as a book dictated by the Holy Ghost, after all the other sacred ones had been burnt (1).

O) M. Paris mentions one of them at Bristol, of whom the king demanded ten thousand marks; and who suffered his flesh to be torn off his bones, and seven of his teeth to be drawn out, one each day, till he complied; but paid the sum, rather than lose the eighth.

(1) Montfauc. Diar. Ital. cap. xxviii. p. 403.

A.D. 1233. public edict. They did not fare much better under the long reign of Henry III. during which many of them chose to turn Christians, to avoid the severity of his government; but, being afterwards detected, were justly punished for their dissimulation. This prevarication did not discourage that prince from endeavouring their conversion; to promote which the more effectually, he caused a seminary to be founded for the maintenance of Jewish converts, where they might live without labour or usury; which soon induced great numbers of them to come into it: and that house, we are told, subsisted a considerable time ^p.

A.D. 1235. The Jews of Norwich were some time after accused of having stolen a Christian child, and of having kept him one year, in order to circumcise and crucify him on the ensuing passover; but, the fact being timely detected, they underwent a due punishment. Some years after, those of London were indicted for the same crime, but with

*Jews at
Norwich
punished,*

A.D. 1243. some difference in the manner; the child having been sold to them by his parents, and crucified, and the fact discovered by some miraculous circumstances not worth relating; so that he was canonized for a martyr, and his relics wrought strange wonders. However, the murderers could not be found out; only some Jews having left London about that time, were shrewdly suspected. Their whole nation was still more alarmed in the following year, when the shepherds made such havock of them in Spain, France, and Germany; and they had reason to fear the storm would fall next upon them here: to prevent which, they purchased an edict from the king, forbidding any subject to hurt them in any of his dominions ^q: but, as that prince's minister was still craving for more money, and they refused to pay it, they were accused of some murders committed in London, where, after various vexations and sufferings, they were obliged to pay one third of all their wealth ^r (P).

at London.

The

^p Math. Paris, Chronic. an. 1210, p. 159. ^q Vide Basnage ubi supra, cap. 22. § 9. ^r Idem. sub A. D. 1243, & 1250.

(P) Our author tells us of one single Jew, named Aaron, who paid at different times, to extricate himself out of prison, and other vexations, about two hundred marks of gold, and thirty thousand of silver. The rest fared no better, being persecuted sometimes for coining false money, at others, for coun-

The holy war, to which Henry was pressingly invited by the pope, proved another pretence for squeezing money out of his subjects, and especially from the Jews, whom he made no scruple to strip of all they had left. The next was the pretended Spanish war, to which the nobility and gentry refused to contribute till it was actually declared. The Jews were again called upon for new supplies, but being quite exhausted, begged leave they might leave the kingdom for some more propitious country; but that favour was refused, and they were forced to pay the sum, only with some alleviation. Next year he demanded eight thousand marks of them; and upon their pleading insolvency, sold them to his brother Richard, who paid him that sum for them, and would in all likelihood have made them refund it double, had he not been convinced of their real poverty and distress.

A.D. 1252.

New taxes.

A.D. 1254.

Those of Lincoln were about the same time accused of having crucified a young Christian, with several circumstances of inhumanity. One Copin, at whose house the fact was committed, not only confessed it before the lord Lexington, upon promise of having his life spared, but owned it to be an usual custom among them to do so every year, if they could procure any such children. The king, upon his coming from the north of England, being informed of this confession, highly blamed that nobleman for promising to spare such a villain's life, and revoked his pardon; upon which Copin was dragged at a horse's tail, to the place of execution, where he was hanged in chains. Their condition was still more desperate all the time of the league and civil wars which happened during that prince's reign; wherein, let which side soever got the better, they were sure to be crushed by it; at least we find that the leaguers seized on their synagogue at Lincoln, and from thence passed into the Isle of Ely, and made dreadful havock among them. And it is likewise pretended that Henry III. did at length banish them by a perpetual edict.

A.D. 1255.

A child crucified at Lincoln.

A.D. 1267.

Their synagogue seized.

It is however agreed by most Christian authors, that this edict was published against them about the latter end

A.D. 1291.

* Trivet Chron. A. D. 1367. Spicil. tom. viii. Basnag. ubi supra, §. 18.

counterfeiting the king's seal, and such-like enormities, from which accusations they found no other way to escape than by

bleeding freely to that monarch, or bribing, as they did in several instances, their judges to be favourable to them.

of

*Their final
expulsion
by king
Edward.*

of the thirteenth century, which is farther proved by public records, found in some chanceries. Trivet affirms, moreover, that king Edward, who banished them out of his kingdom, granted them money to transport them into France, and afterwards confiscated their effects. Walsingham writes to the same purpose; and Polydore Virgil tells us, that this edict was enacted by a council that sat at London, A. D. 1291, and being desirous to sever the goats from the lambs, ordered the Jews to leave England in a few days, but with permission to take their effects with them. He adds, that they obeyed, and that the nation, which was then very numerous in England, took their final leave of it, and still removed from place to place till they all perished; whose loss, says he, needs not be much regretted, provided they leave behind those sacred books, without which it would be difficult for us to preserve our religion for the future^t. It is plain our author had no great belief in those prophecies which assure us that they will be actually recalled before the end of the world. However that be, it is plain they never more appeared in a body in this kingdom, from that time, till they were recalled to it, in the time of Oliver Cromwell, as will be seen in its proper place. It is therefore time to pass on to those of Germany, Hungary, and other northern regions.

A.D. 1222.

*Jews in
Germany,
&c.*

Whether the Jews were really more wicked in Germany than in other countries, or the people more superstitiously zealous against them, there is hardly a kingdom where they have been accused of more enormous crimes, and of greater number and variety of them, during these two centuries. We have already taken notice of their having encouraged the invasion of the Persians and Tartars, under a false Messiah, and of the joy with which they were ready to receive them, had not their project

A.D. 1241.

proved abortive. Notwithstanding which disappointment, and the bad effects it brought upon them, they seem to have been no less flushed at a fresh irruption of Tartars, who had already penetrated into Hungary, insomuch that the emperor Frederic himself was beyond measure alarmed at it: but what seems to justify them from the imputation, was that even that monarch was suspected, as well as they, of having invited those barbarians; which scandalous surmise was, it seems, invented by the

^t Chronic. sub. an. 1290. Hypodigm. Neustr. per T. Walsingh. Hist. Angl. lib. xvii. p. 327.

pope and his clergy, whom he had disobliged, and was soon after wiped off by the effectual repulse which he gave them. They were perhaps more justly accused, in the same year, of having obstructed the conversion of a young man of their nation; for in such cases the Jews lost all patience at the sight of their children or relations taken from them, and abjuring their religion, seldom failed of driving them into some extravagant violence. On the other hand, the zealots, who were extremely fond and proud of such conversions, could not brook the least opposition. At Francfort, upon such an occasion, their fury on both sides rose to such a height, that they took up arms; several Christians lost their lives, and about one hundred and eighty Jews perished in the flames they had kindled. Half of the city was consumed by them, and the Jews all in danger of being sacrificed to the resentment of the populace; to avoid which, some of the most politic, to the number of twenty-four, turned Christians, and among them the chief of their synagogue *.

*Accusations
against
them.*

A.D. 1241.

*A sad fire
and slaughter
at
Francfort.*

They were likewise often accused of murdering and crucifying the children of the Christians: the first time was at Haguenau, in Lower Alsatia, where three children were found dead in a Jewish house. Complaint of it was made to the emperor, who not being inclined to believe those idle stories, dismissed the plaintiffs with an evasive answer, which still more exasperated the people; but as the fact could not be proved, they obtained, by means of a considerable sum, a favourable judgment from him. They did not meet with so kind a judge at Munich in Bavaria, where an old woman having confessed that she had sold a child to the Jews; whose blood they had drawn for some sacrifice or forcery, the people, without staying for farther trial, massacred all that came in their way. The town officers having in vain endeavoured to suppress the tumult, advised the rest of the Jews to retire into their synagogue, which was a stone building: they followed this advice; but were all burnt and destroyed in it, notwithstanding the efforts of the duke himself, and all his officers, to appease and disperse the multitude. Much such another accusation was brought against the Jews of Wurtzburgh, and Bern, where they were massacred in the same manner, and the two children killed by them canonised for martyrs, and miraculous saints †.

A.D. 1286.

*Massacred
in Bava-
ria.*

*At Bern,
&c.*

* Addition. ad Lambert Schafsnaburgh, German. Pistor. tom. ii. p. 257. Basnag. ubi supra, § 4. † Afentin, Ann. Bojor, lib. vii. p. 441.

*Learned
rabbies in
Germany.*

Notwithstanding all these persecutions, Germany produced several great and learned rabbies, during these two centuries. The town of Germersheim gave birth to two, who took their surname from it, as it began about this time to be the custom to do: viz. Baruc and Eliezer de Germersheim. That of Vienna produced the famed R. Isaac, author of *The Light Sown*, and a great transcriber of Jewish books, which he dispersed among the synagogues of Germany. He had several learned disciples, particularly R. Meir de Zottemburgh, who exceeded him in learning, and became the judge and chief doctor of the German Jews. They likewise extol their R. Amnon for his learning, riches, and beauty, as well as for his miraculous recovery of all his fingers and toes, which the bishop of Mentz had caused to be cut off, for declining a conference with him, which he had promised three days before; but this last circumstance may well pass for a Jewish legend.

They flourished no less in Lithuania, during the thirteenth century; king Borissas, surnamed the Chaste, having granted them full liberty of conscience, and several other considerable privileges, which they have preserved ever since. This seems, indeed, to have been in a great measure their case thro' all those northern tracts, where the grandees favoured and protected them for their services, and the large sums they brought to them; whilst those of the inferior rank, especially the zealots among the clergy, beholding their prosperity with an envious eye, and being often provoked at their insolence, and the contempt they shewed for their superstitions, were always raising some accusation to disturb their peace, and render them odious to the world. This doth but too plainly appear to have been the case, by what passed in the council of Vienna, which was held about this time. It was there observed that the Jews were grown so numerous and powerful, that the clergy's income was considerably lessened; for which reason it was decreed, that they should reimburse them in proportion to what they might have been intitled to, had their families been Christian. They farther decreed that they should be obliged to pull down the new and stately synagogues which they had built, and be contented with their old places of worship^z.

*Council of
Vienna
held,
A.D. 1267.*

^z Concil. Vienn. ap. Canif. lect. Antiq. tom. i. p. 621.

All these decrees, however, could not but prove abortive, while the princes and great men publicly protected those that refused to obey them, and obliged their officers to shelter those who should implore their assistance. So that the evil grew up to such a height, that the clergy was obliged to take more violent measures, and to excommunicate all those that should protect the Jews, and refuse to execute those decrees, which had been enacted against them. They were forced soon after to make fresh laws at Augsberg, on account of the improper oaths which were till then administered to them, and which they made no scruple to break (Q); and to oblige them to swear by the name of God, and the law of Moses, holding their hand on the Pentateuch^a. The misfortune is, that even this last kind of oaths is held by them to be annulled on the grand expiation day; so that at the most they can be of force but one whole year. And we may add, that they have their casuists likewise, who allow them to equivocate, and to tell officious lies, according to that concession of the Talmud, that it is lawful to dissemble for the sake of peace^b.

*At Augs-
burg
A.D. 1285.*

About this time the dispute between the Talmudists and Caraites arose to such a height, that R. Aaron, head of the latter, a man of great learning, wrote a treatise to expose the extravagancies of the Talmud, in order to suppress a certain fondness which those of his sect began to betray for that book, insomuch that R. Nissi, the son of Noah, another Caraites, had been obliged to expound the mishnah, at the earnest request of his disciples. Aaron in vain strove to oppose the current, for a time; but he was at length obliged to follow Nissi's steps, for fear of disgusting his disciples, and to give an allegorical sense to divers places of scripture. The Talmudists were not a little pleased to see their antagonists make such steps towards them, but that did not reconcile them the more to each other; on the contrary, their hatred and animosity continued as fierce as ever.

*Disputes
with the
Caraites.*

They underwent soon after a much greater misfortune, during the contest between Adolphus of Nassau, and Al-

*Jews mas-
sacred.
A.D. 1264.*

^a Crusius Annal. Suevor, c. 8. p. 3, & seq. ^b Manass. Con-
ciliator quest. in Gen. quest. 37. p. 42, & seq.

(Q) The custom, it seems, by the Son of God; which was before that time, to make oaths they made no difficulty them swear by the saints, by either to take or break, the Blessed Virgin, and even

bert of Austria, each of whom had been chosen emperor, when a peasant named Raind Fleish, took the advantage of the war then raging to set up for a preacher in the high Palatinate, Franconia, and other provinces, and to pretend that God had sent him to exterminate all the Jews. His pretence was, their having stolen a consecrated wafer; and the people taking him at his word, without farther enquiry, fell upon them at Nurembergh, Niewmark, Rottemburgh, Amberg, and other towns of Franconia and Bavaria, and burnt as many as fell into their hands; whilst many of the rest chose rather to burn themselves, with their wives, children, and houses, than to be dragged into the flames by the Christians. Duke Albert would fain have suppressed those butcheries, but was afraid that Raind Fleish, who was looked upon as sent from God, should draw the people over to his competitor. The persecution was at length suppressed, probably by him, and the city of Nuremberg laid under a severe fine, besides having been above half burnt by the fire which the oppressed Jews had set to their houses. This calamity did not hinder it from resuming its hatred against them, ten or twelve years after, and hanging the famed R. Mordecai, who had written some learned comments on the Talmud, and on the works of R. Isaac Aphez, which are highly esteemed by the Jews.

At Nuremberg,
A.D. 1292.

Mordecai hanged.
A.D. 1310.

Protected by the bishop of Spire,
A.D. 1339.

Banished by the king of Hungary,
A.D. 1344.

Persecuted by the Flagellants, at Francfort.
A.D. 1349.

Some years after the council convened at Vienna, by pope Clement, against the Templars, likewise condemned the usury of the Jews, and those as heretics who approved of them; a sentence which proved a fresh cause of vexatious law-suits and other mischiefs to them, especially in Germany. They were, however, in some measure relieved by Menicho, bishop of Spire, who forbade them to be molested on that account in his dominions, alleging that law could not concern them, seeing the church doth not judge those that are without^c. A few years after which they were quite banished by Lewis I. king of Hungary, out of all his dominions.

A great number of them were plundered and burnt by the newly-started up fraternity of Flagellants, at Spire, Straßburgh, and other places^d, especially at Thuringen, where they exasperated the people against them; but the worst of all happened at Francfort, where, after some

^c Szentivany Soc. Jesu Dissertat. Paralipomenic. rer. memorabil. Hungar. Catalog. p. 236. ap. Bafnag. lib. ix. c. 23. ^d Hist. Landgr. Thuring. c. 105. p. 941.

disorders committed against them, and their being at length come to some kind of accommodation, a Jew named Ciccogne, whose family was very numerous in that city, not satisfied with it, threw a piece of fire-work into the town-house, which consumed both it and all the records there preserved. The flame spread itself to the cathedral, which was likewise reduced to ashes, and burnt quite as far as Saxen-house. The crime did not pass unpunished, for not only the incendiary, but all the Jews of that city, except some few that retired into Bohemia, were put to death.

A new accusation was brought against them, which hath been already mentioned in speaking of those of France and Spain; viz. that of poisoning the wells and spring-heads of rivers: tho' upon no other foundation than that they escaped from the common mortality which happened in most parts of Europe. This caused a fresh massacre in most provinces of Germany, the very year after that which had happened at Francfort. In some places they were burnt alive, in others most cruelly butchered. Those of Mentz, however, resolved to stand in their own defence, and having seized on about two hundred unarmed Christians, massacred them in a most barbarous manner; upon which the incensed populace came in shoals, and fell so furiously upon them, that they murdered about twelve thousand of them on that single occasion. They afterwards set fire to their houses, which spread and burnt with such vehemence, that the great bell, glass and grate of the cathedral were melted down. Their rage spread all over Germany; the Imperial cities demolished all their houses, and built castles and towers with the materials, and the populace was the more eager to pull them down, because they found money and other rich effects among the rubbish. The then count Palatine, and his ministers, strove in vain to suppress their violence, and to give shelter to them: they were opposed by some of the nobility, as well as by the common people, and accused of having been bribed by large sums to take their part. All the Jews, inhabitants of Ulm, were burnt alive^e, with their wives, children, and effects; and, in a word, the whole Hebrew nation saw themselves without friends or place of retreat, the princes not daring to interpose in their favour, at so critical a juncture. Lithuania was the only

*Revenge
on the
Christians
severely
retaliated.*

^e Basnag. ubi supra.

^f Crus. Antiq. Suevor. lib. v. p.

country where they enjoyed any tranquility; which was chiefly owing to a beautiful Jewess, named Esther, with whom Casimir the Great was enamoured, and at whose request he had granted them several considerable privileges.

*Massacred
in Bohemia.
A. D. 1391.*

Those who had taken refuge in Bohemia, did not fare much better than those in Germany. Vincencas, emperor, and king of Bohemia, desirous to ingratiate himself with his subjects, to whom his excessive love of wine and women had rendered him odious, discharged all his nobility of the debts they owed to the Jews^a. The people thereupon looking upon them as discarded from his protection, began to make a sad massacre of them at Gotha, which became still more dreadful, as the peasants joined the populace in this carnage. Those of Spire put them all to the sword, without regard to age or sex, some few children excepted, which were spared, and hurried away to the font to be baptised. But as such violent persecutions are not only odious, but seldom fail of unpeopling a country, they found it necessary to put a stop to this, by the punishment of some of the ringleaders.

They were soon after accused afresh, of having poisoned the wells and springs, and punished for it by the most severe deaths, not only all over Germany, but in Italy, Provence, and other parts. The Jewish historians, however, tell us, that the emperor being fully convinced of their innocence, represented again to his council the impossibility of poisoning springs, which have a continual run of water^b; but that the people pretending to have seen them throw the poison into them, the emperor resolved to banish them, to the no small disappointment of the seditious zealots, who cried out, that no punishment was too severe for such miscreants. His edict came out accordingly against them, either to flee or be baptised; and the Jewish writers above quoted, highly extol the perseverance of those of their nation, who, notwithstanding the great misery which then reigned among them, not inferior in their account to that which followed the destruction of Jerusalem, yet few, if any, were thereby driven to apostatize, or, as they word it, to forsake the glory of their God.

*Banished
the empire.
A. D. 1400.*

If we consider their situation in Spain, we shall find them, after a long and peaceable abode, during which their nation was greatly multiplied, banished at length from that

^a Crus. ibid. lib. vi. c. 3. Hist. Landgr. Thuring. c. 132. p. 948. Basnag. ubi supra.

^b Cantz Tzemach, sub. eod. an. p. 146.

country, excepting those who preferred dissembling to a mortifying exile; which fatal revolution hath ever since excited the complaints of the Jews, as well as the pity of the more moderate Christians for them; but as it did not take place till the close of the fifteenth century, and was ushered in by several considerable events, it will be necessary to give our readers an account of them before we pass on to their final expulsion. The first step towards it was promoted by the anti-pope Benedict XIII. who was then in Arragon, the only province left that owned his authority, trying to ingratiate himself with the rest of the Spanish nation by his zeal for the conversion of the Jews. He accordingly appointed a conference with them, in which, as he defrayed all their charges, they treated him with unusual complaisance and respect; though they expressed themselves with some bitterness against his physician, who was the chief promoter as well as conductor of it against them ¹.

A conference held between the Christians and them.

The tenor and success of this conference is variously related by the Jewish and Christian historians that have transmitted it to us, though they were both present and bore a share in it ^k. Both sides pretend to have gained the victory, as is usual in such cases. But as neither the arguments on one side, nor the answers on the other, have any thing particular in them, we shall, for brevity sake, refer our readers for the farther account of the whole, to the historian Bafnage often quoted by us ^l, and only add, that though Benedict XIII. was present at some of the sessions of it, yet he soon left his room to be filled by the general of the Dominicans ^m, that it was begun February 7, 1413, and lasted till May 10, 1414. On the 10th of November following, Hieronymo de Santa Fé presented that pontiff with his relation of it, which was confirmed on the 12th of December, and was afterwards published at Francfort, anno 1602, in the Bibliotheca Patrum. With relation to the fruits of this conference, we are told that about three thousand, or, according to others, five thousand Jews were converted upon reading Hieronymo; for which he grew into such esteem, that Joseph Albo, fearing lest their synagogues should be forsaken, compiled his Articles of Faith, by which he endeavoured

A.D. 1413.

¹ Solom. Ben Virg. p. 227—246—264. ^k Shalsheth Hakkabal. p. 113. Hieronym. de S. Fe. Cont. Jud. lib. i. cap. 2. in Bibl. Patr. tom. iv. part. i. p. 750. ^l Bafnage. lib. ix. cap. 24. sect. 4, & seq. ^m D'Aguira Bibl. Hist. tom. ii. cap. 1. ap. Eund. ibid.

A.D. 1415. to confirm the wavering belief of the rest (R). As for Benedict XIII. he published in the year following his Constitution against the Talmud, and the usury of the Jews, but as he was deposed soon after, and all his ordinances were revoked, they felt not the effects of them. Neither do we find that his successor, Martin of Florence, followed his steps against the people of this nation.

*Benedict
XIII. his
bull.*

A.D. 1415. & seq. But the greatest converter of them at this time was Vincent Ferrario, since canonized and extolled to the skies for his great zeal and miraculous exploits (S). The Christians reckoned that he converted about eight thousand Moors; and about thirty or thirty-five thousand Jews. And these last, willing to raise his character still higher, or, which is more probable, to discredit what the former say of them, allow him to have made about two hundred thousand converts out of their nation, besides near one hundred thousand of bad Christians. But whatever be the number of these Jewish converts, their sincerity was far enough from passing unsuspected, and not without good grounds; for the greater part of them, after having dis-

*Vincent
Ferrario's
numerous
conversions
not sincere.*

(R) These he reduced to three, namely, the existence of God, the law of Moses, and the rewards and punishments of belief and disbelief. Whether, therefore, he found his brethren too closely pressed on the article of the coming of the Messiah, it is plain he struck it out of his confession, as not necessary to salvation; and censures Maimonides, without naming of him, for having made the belief of his coming an essential article of the Jewish faith.

This work of his, published at such a juncture, was held in such esteem, that the Polish Gedaliah hath written a comment upon it, which he intitled the Planted, or Complete Tree, and of which his notes are the roots, the indexes to the places of Scripture, the

branches, and the allegorical explanations, the leaves (1).

(S) He is styled by their martyrologists (2), the bright Star of Spain, the Light of Valentia, the Prodigy of the Universe, the Pattern of the Dominicans, and the Glory of the glorified Saints. They tell us moreover that he was heard to bark in his mother's womb, as a preface that he would become a celebrated preacher; and that though he only understood his own mother tongue, yet by a prodigy greater than that which happened to the apostles, every nation could plainly understand him. His credit was become so great that he was raised to the highest dignities in church and state, and particularly to that of confessor to the anti-pope Benedict.

(1) Vide Juchasin. p. 134. Gantz, p. 147. Salazar, Martyrol. Hispan. tom. ii. p. 509.

(2) Tamnio

sembled

sembled as long as they saw occasion, made no scruple of throwing off the mask, as soon as opportunity offered. It appears therefore that they had only given way to necessity, and merely to avoid a more severe treatment; for they themselves complain, that he was a great persecutor and calumniatorⁿ; so that it is no wonder that they only conformed to outward appearance, but privately and within doors, lived entirely like Jews, circumcised their children, observed the passover, and all other Jewish festivals and rites^o.

This dissimulation did not escape the notice of the clergy, who acquainted king Ferdinand and pope Xistus IV. with it; upon which the tribunal of inquisition was strictly charged to watch more closely over those delinquents, and Christian princes were exhorted to assist it in the punishment of them. This decree, which was published in most cities of Spain, so alarmed the Jews, that seventeen thousand immediately returned to the church, and submitted to whatever censures or penance it should impose. Two thousand of them were burnt alive, some of whom, nevertheless, acknowledged Christ to be the Messiah. A great number of others were thrown into dungeons, where they continued a long time; and those who regained their liberty were declared infamous, and ordered to wear two red crosses on their upper garments, in acknowledgment that they had deserved the flames. They did not even spare the dead, but took up and burnt their bones, confiscated their effects, and declared the children incapable of succeeding their parents. These great severities made many flee into other countries, notwithstanding the watchfulness of that tribunal; whilst the rest took care either to dissimble more closely, or to be better instructed before they turned, that they might be less exposed to the punishment of apostacy. These conversions did not hinder the popu-
fly from often insulting and oppressing them, and from attributing every misfortune or calamity that befel them either to the obstinacy of the recusant, or to the dissimulation of the conforming Jews; witness the insurrection they made against them at Toledo, on a pretended infringement of their privileges, and laying a new tax on that city, which, though small and light, was at the time of war very necessary; on account of which, the inhabitants vented their resentment on the Jews, without sparing even

The inquisition ordered to suppress their relapses.

The punishment inflicted on them.

A.D. 1445.

An insurrection at Toledo.

ⁿ Cardoso las Excellencias & Audt. ab eo. Citat. Ann. ubi supra.

^o Bzov.

the posterity of those that had been converted. After having broke into and plundered their houses, and murdered all that opposed them, as soon as the city had resumed its tranquillity, they enacted some laws against the new converts, whether from Judaism or Paganism, by which they were excluded from all offices of honour and trust ^p. The clergy, however, more equitable to those neophytes, took them under their protection, and condemned those laws as unchristian, and had their censure soon after ratified by the pope.

A conference before Alphonso.

All this while the Jews were still protected and loved by king Alphonso the Great and his grandees; and it is under his reign that one of their writers ^q places a conference which happened between that monarch and one Thomas, surnamed the Subtle Philosopher, who came so much the more opportunely thither, as one of the bishops had preached a severe sermon against them, in which he imprudently affirmed that they could not celebrate their Passover without shedding of some Christian blood. The king was glad to have so learned a man to confute that absurd notion; which he accordingly did, though not with that strength and energy which might be expected from a person of his character. The same author mentions another conference that passed between Alphonso of Portugal and the Jews, on the subject of the twenty-second Psalm, and the application which the Christians make of several pregnant passages of it to Christ, but which these denied to relate to him; but as he hath not told us how that dispute ended, we shall say no more of it, there being nothing extraordinary urged on either side.

A second.

Learned Jews.
A.D. 1482.

Among the learned rabbies who flourished during this fifteenth century, besides those we have already mentioned at Arragon, &c. we may name their celebrated Sham-mai ^r, one of the greatest cabalists of the age (T). Joel, the son of Sciocu, was no less famed a preacher, whose sermons, though too long and diffuse, contained some very judicious expositions of certain sections of the Pentateuch. The family of Alcaleb produced two excellent astronomers, the uncle and the nephew, who both compiled astronomical tables ^s. The first was named R. Isaac Ben

^p Mariana, ubi supra, lib. xxii. cap. 1. ^q Solom. Ben
Virg. ^r Bartoloc. Bibl. Rab. tom. ii. p. 840. ^s Wolf.
Bibl. Hæbr. N. 1263.

(T) Among other cabalistical secrets, he published than girls in the married state, by placing the bed from the that of. begetting more boys north to the south.

Tzadic,

Tzadic, and the other R. Isaac Ben Solomon Ben Tzadic. We shall by-and-by have occasion to mention several others of their learned men, who were unhappily included in the edict of condemnation and banishment, and involved in the same misfortunes with the rest of that unhappy nation, of which we are now going to speak (U).

This dreadful edict was issued out against them by Ferdinand and Isabella, soon after that prince had happily ended his war with the Moors, and obliged the whole Jewish nation to quit Spain in four months after the date of it, which was in March, A. D. 1492. Turre Cremata, who was the soul of this persecution, advised the king to shorten that term, and forbade the people, under the severest penalties, to afford either victuals, or any other assistance, to such as were found in the kingdom after the month of April. Some historians likewise think that they were forbid, by a new order, to carry away either gold or precious stones, or any thing but a few cloaths, wine, and such other merchandize. If this was really the case, it is plain that order was not punctually executed, since they found means to convey away thirty thousand millions of ducats[†]. The Spaniards tell us, that seventy thousand families, or eight hundred thousand persons, left the kingdom pursuant to this edict; and the Jews make them to amount to one hundred and sixty thousand families, or six hundred thousand individuals[‡], and even some of those who had been most in credit at court, among whom was the learned Abravanel, who had been a long while a favourite of the

A. D. 1492.

Jews banished out of Spain,

The number of them.

[†] Basnag. ubi supra, cap. xxv. sec. 1. [‡] Abravan. Cardoso las Excellencias, &c.

(U) We must here once more observe, that R. Abraham, prince of the Jewish nation, and tutor to the great Eben Ezra, had foretold two hundred years before, that the same configuration which Moses their great law-giver was born under, namely, the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, would bring in the Messiah. It was to happen, according to his calculation, two thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine years after the former, that is, A. D. 1464: and there actually hap-

pened such a conjunction twice within the fifteenth century, viz. in 1444, in Cancer, and twenty years after, in Pisces: but instead of that glorious train of miracles, which was to accompany the birth of that long-expected prince, and exalt the Jewish nation above all the rest, they met with nothing but disasters, and a general banishment out of all the Spanish dominions, which proved the ruin and destruction of the greatest part of it.

king

king and queen (W), were obliged to embark for foreign countries ; and none permitted to stay but those who preferred Christianity to banishment.

The

(W) This learned rabbi pretended to be lineally descended from king David, and as such was in great esteem among his nation, as well as for his learning, riches, and employment ; notwithstanding which, he had been often forced to flee from one country to another. He appeared even from his younger years at the court of Alphonso, king of Portugal, and was in great credit with him ; but upon his death, not finding the same favour from his son and successor John II. he privately retired into Castile, where Ferdinand and Isabella intrusted him with the care of their finances, which gave him an opportunity of getting an immense treasure in a short time.

Being obliged to leave Spain, with the rest of his nation, he embarked for Naples, where he soon recommended himself to the favour of the king, and did him considerable service : but that prince dying, and Charles VIII. having seized on that kingdom, he was forced to fly into Sicily, with Alphonso II. who had succeeded his father. His faithfulness to him, in the midst of his misfortunes, which had deprived him of his riches and crown, obliged him again, after his death, to leave that island, and sail to Corfu, and thence into Puglia, where having resided some time, he went and died at Venice. His corpse did not rest here, but was conveyed to Padua, and there interred.

He was no less esteemed for his learned works ; and we may truly say that he is, of all the Jewish doctors, the most clear and useful for the right understanding of the sacred text. His style is pure, and easy to be understood ; and only sometimes rather too swollen, and more like that of an orator than a commentator.

Among other learned Jews that followed Abravenel's fate, were R. Isaac Ben Aruma, a great philosopher and cabalist, whose exposition of the Mosaic law is highly esteemed by the Jews, though some critics think it too diffuse, allegorical, and full of a moral altogether Jewish. He took with him his son R. Meir, one of the greatest rabbies of that age, and author of a comment upon Job, which Buxtorf hath attributed to his father.

Another was Joseph Gigtella, surnamed the Divine Cabalist ; and Taumaturgus, who, during his exile, applied himself to the exposition of the Divine Attributes and Names, and of the Ten Sephiroth ; that is, of the most mystical, and, at the same time, of the most admired part of the Jewish theology.

Isaac Kara was another learned exile ; he retired at first into Portugal, and thence to Jerusalem, but lost his children and books in his passage. He lived a perfect recluse there, and compiled his book of generations, or of the sons of Isaac,

The misery of those who embarked is almost inexpressible. In some the vessels took fire, and they either perished in the flames, or were drowned; others were so loaded, that they bulged and sunk with them to the bottom. Many were shipwrecked on some foreign coasts, and either perished with hunger and cold, or were exposed to new disasters. In some the plague began to rage, and they were set down at the next shore, where those that outlived it perished with want; others reached the city of Fez, where the inhabitants, being frightened at their vast number and misery, shut their gates against them; so that they were forced to spread tents in the fields, and to live upon such herbs as that dry and barren ground afforded. Even this distress might even pass for a mercy, in comparison of the insults and horrid hardships which they were forced to undergo from some barbarians there, who thought they might, without offence, commit any inhumanities against those unfortunate fugitives. The reader may see some instances of it in the margin (X). The king and queen were

*Their
grievous
misery.*

Isaac, to comfort himself for the loss of his own, which is only a comment or clear solution of some doubtful questions on the Pentateuch, partly calumnial, and partly literal (1).

(X) One of these wretches, we are told, ravished a Jewish virgin before her parents; and returned presently after and cut her throat, for fear she should have conceived, and should bring forth a Jew. A seaman seized on a number of Jewish children, who were gathering of cockles and other shell-fish on the shore, at low water, and brought them to his ship, where he gave them some bread; which brought many more thither, with whom he sailed away, and sold some of them to persons of quality, and the rest he made slaves of.

The captain of a vessel that was transporting a number of them, took one day a resolution to murder them all, and thereby, as he pretended, revenged the death of Christ, whom they had crucified; upon which they represented to him, that the blood which Christ had shed was for the sins of mankind, and did not want to be revenged; and that he did not desire the death but salvation of the sinner. The brutish sailor being somewhat softened by this reply, forbore indeed murdering them, but caused them to be stripped naked, and set down on the next shore, where part of them perished with hunger, and others were torn in pieces by lions, that came out of a neighbouring cavern; and the

(1) De hoc, vid. Bartoloc. ubi supra, tom. iii. p. 857. Simon. Critic. Ant. Test. lib. iii. cap. 6. Basnag. ubi supra, cap. 25. sec. 4, &c.

were highly blamed by all sober Christians, not only for depopulating their dominions, but for running the risque of involving them in a civil war; for whatever precaution he might have taken against it, the resentment and despair of eight hundred thousand subjects, so cruelly used, might have defeated all his measures; and Abravanel had reason to extol their submission and fidelity, for not opposing so severe and unjust a decree. What induced that monarch to it, whether avarice, and the prospect of seizing upon their immense riches, or religion, and the notion of gaining heaven by the persecution of the enemies of Christ, or the hopes of ingratiating himself with his clergy, we leave to our readers to guess. However, he soon after received the title of Catholic for it, from pope Alexander VI. who probably laughed at his zeal, for he himself received those fugitives which the other had banished.

*Ferdinand
styled
Catholic.*

*Received
in Portugal
upon hard
conditions.*

*The king's
treachery
to them;
and their
miseries.*

But a good part of them met with a much nearer refuge from John II. king of Portugal, who, though he did not love them, yet found it his interest to receive them into his dominions; and though upon very hard conditions, yet such as they chose to submit to, rather than expose themselves to new misfortunes. His son and successor Emanuel seemed indeed at first to pity them, but was soon induced to sacrifice them and the Moors to his interest, and the alliance he made with Ferdinand and Isabella. He accordingly banished both nations by an edict; and as he feared reprisals from the Moors, he suffered them to go with their effects; but doubly broke his promise to the Jews, first, by detaining their children that were under fourteen years of age; which piece of treachery drove them into such despair, that some of them killed themselves, and others, sacrificing their natural affection to religion, became the executioners of their own children; and, secondly, by reducing the three ports which he had assigned

rest were saved by the humanity of a master of a vessel, who seeing them in that dismal plight, took them in, and cut his sails to cover their nakedness. Those who sailed for Italy, being arrived at Genoa, found that country afflicted with a grievous famine, which made all victuals exceedingly dear. The Genoese beholding them so emaciated by suffer-

ings, and destitute of money to buy food, met them in the streets, with bread in one hand, and a cross in the other, and gave the one to those who would worship the other; which temptation proved so powerful, that those poor famished wretches, who had the courage to abandon their country and wealth, could not now be proof against it.

them

them to embark in, to one, by which many of them were forced to make a kind of double journey, to take quite new measures, and exhaust their purses : to these articles we may add, the delay of their embarkation, which increased their poverty and misery. Those that had the good fortune at length to embark, were nevertheless obliged to bear very severe hardships and insults from the ship-captains and seamen, even to the deslouring of their wives and daughters, or exacting large sums to preserve them from being so. Among those that turned Christians, to avoid such a train of miseries as they saw before their eyes, many of them were very harshly used from a too just mistrust of their sincerity, and a great number of them were massacred upon the first slight occasion. All which outrages seemed but too well encouraged by the cruelty and treachery with which king Emanuel had used that unfortunate people ^a.

We have now seen the Jews banished out of Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal : but before we pass into the eastern parts, it will be very proper to say something of those which still remained in the two last mentioned kingdoms, in great numbers, tho' under the cloak and title of new Christians, and under the mask of zealous catholics, tho' in their hearts as firmly attached to Judaism, as those who make open profession of it where they are tolerated. The grandees of those two nations have in vain made new alliances, changed their names, and taken up ancient coats of arms ; they are still known to be of Jewish extract, if not Jews in their hearts. The monasteries and nunneries are full of them, and the greater part of their prebends, priests, inquisitors, and even bishops, are descended from the same stock ^b. Orobio, who relates the fact, was not only perfectly acquainted with those dissemblers, and had been himself of the number ^c, but gives pregnant proofs of what he says ; inso-much that he mentions in the very synagogue of Amsterdam, Jews and Jewesses, which are brothers, sisters, or near relations to some of the best families in Spain and Portugal : as likewise others that have heretofore been friars and nuns of almost every order, the Jesuits not excepted, who went thither to do penance and reparation for their former apostacy.

An account of those that slid.

Their dissimulation.

The number and danger of them.

^a Oforius, lib. i. Marian lib. xxvi. c. 13.
^b Vide Limborg Collat. cum Judeo. p. 102.
^c Ap. Basnag. l. ix. c. 25.
 § 11.

*Some of
their learn-
ed turn
Jews a-
gain.*

Among those who being at length tired with such in-
pious dissimulation, returned to Judaism, divers were men
of great learning, and appear by their works to have been
better versed in the Jewish law than in the gospel. Of
that number was Joseph the son of Jehoshua, who hath
continued his chronology down to A. D. 1554. He was
a Spaniard by birth, and perhaps the best historian that
the Jewish nation hath had since the great Josephus. Such
was also Joseph Ben Sheveth, or the Son of the Rod, ano-
ther Spaniard, who hath written a collection of sundry
necessary rules, for the right understanding of the Gemar-
rah. The last we shall name was the famed Isaac Cardoso,
descended from some of the false converts of Portugal.
He became the first physician in Castile, and one of his
works we have often quoted in this chapter (Y). For
these reasons the inquisition always keeps a watchful eye
over all those new Christians; and the least cause of sus-
picion given by them, is sufficient to bring upon them the
severest punishments. Both Spaniards and Portuguese are
still so superstitiously prejudiced against them, that there
scarcely happens any public calamity, but they look upon
them as the cause of it, and make them suffer for it, as
they formerly persecuted the professed Jews. Cardoso
last mentioned, hath given us a flagrant instance of it,
which happened towards the beginning of the last centu-
ry, when a Dominican, at the head of a vast multitude,
on some suspicious pretence, fell upon those new con-
verts, and plundered and massacred between four and five
thousand^d.

*Address
Charles V.
for liberty.*

Notwithstanding all these cruel severities both on
staunch Jews and false converts, they made once more a
bold push for getting a fresh settlement in Spain, as soon
as they heard that Charles V. was come to that crown.
They sent some of the most considerable of their nation
to him into Flanders, to represent, that they groaned un-
der the yoke of a religion, which had they been forced

^d Cardoso las Excellencias, sub. an. 1605. p. 383.

(Y) He wrote two treatises
in Spanish, one on the useful-
ness of common and snow-wa-
ter, and of drinking liquors hot
or cold. The other on the then
excellencies or prerogatives be-
longing to the Jewish nation,

which ought to be esteemed an
honour to it, in spite of all
the misfortunes and dispersions
which have happened to them
for the punishment of their
sins.

to

to embrace, and were daily exposed to the rigorous persecutions of the merciless tribunal of the inquisition : that they carried on with honour the whole commerce of the nation, and were the most useful and perhaps the most faithful subjects of the kingdom ; on which account they trusted in his justice and goodness, that he would grant them the free exercise of their religion ; and engaged, on that condition, to give him all the assistance they could, and to make him a present of eight hundred thousand crowns in gold, in return for his kindness. They met with a very gracious reception from that monarch ; and the council of Flanders was likewise of opinion, that he ought to accept of their offer, and grant their request. But cardinal Ximenes no sooner heard of this resolution, than he sent a courier with all speed to inform Charles, that it was not lawful for him to make a traffic of religion, and to barter the blood of Christ for money ; and that the tribunal of the holy inquisition had been instituted for very good and wise ends ; that he ought therefore to follow the steps of king Ferdinand the Catholic, who, in his greatest need, had refused the six hundred thousand crowns which those very Jews had offered to him for the liberty of continuing peaceably in his dominions : that those who had rejected Christ from reigning over them, were unworthy of the protection of a Christian prince. Charles yielded to these reasons, and preferred (says Fletcher) the wholesome council of the cardinal to the persuasions of his selfish ministers^d. This was their last effort ; which proving so unsuccessful, they have had recourse ever since to dissimulation, and by pretending to a greater zeal than ordinary for a religion which they abhor, do for the most part pass unobserved, if not unsuspected.

*Gracious
reception.*

*Cardinal
Ximenes
opposes
them.*

We need not here give an account of the inquisition's proceedings against such as are indicted for apostacy, nor of their dreadful punishment when found guilty. It will be sufficient to say, that in such cases they are delivered up to the secular power to be put to death, tho' with a strict and solemn charge not to shed their blood ; to prevent which contamination, they are condemned to be burnt alive. The Jewish authors bitterly complain that these severities are still continued in full rigour against them, at Cordova, Lisbon, Conimbra, and even in the East and West Indies ; and for want of better reprisals, they in their return, canonize

*The hard
fate and
punishment
of the ju-
daising
converts.*

^d Life of Cardinal Ximenes.

Made martyrs by the Jews.

Jews in the East during the three last centuries.

A. D. 1500.

Ishmael's conquests.

Jews rejected.

A. D. 1577.

Persecuted.

all those sufferers for saints and martyrs, and embellish their sufferings with legends of miracles wrought, either to save them from, or to revenge their deaths. In order to honour and perpetuate their memory, they have taken the method of writing martyrologies of them in some places^e. But it is now time to pass over into the eastern parts.

We begin with those that were settled in Persia, Media, Armenia, and under the Great Mogul, where, to avoid the frequent interruption of the thread of their history, we shall continue it thro' the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. They had hardly recovered themselves from the long and fatal disasters which they suffered during the wars of the great Timur Bekh and his successors, during which the Jews in Persia and Media were not only greatly impoverished, but their academies, learning, and learned men, had totally disappeared, before they received a new mortification from the conqueror Ismael Sophi, chief of the family of the Persian kings, who reigned there ever since, till the late great revolution that drove them from the throne. The Jews, who were very numerous in Media, where Ishmael had begun his conquests, were so surprised at his wonderful and swift success, that they began to look upon him as the Messiah; in which they seemed moreover confirmed, because he gave himself out to be a prophet sent by God to reform the Mohammedan religion. But that prince, who despised them in his heart, refused all their homage and proffered services, and treated them with greater severity than any of his subjects. He died in the year 1523, and was succeeded by his son Thahamasp, and he by Ishmael, a blind prince, and father of the famed Shâh Abbas, who became a great persecutor of their nation. The fact, as it is commonly related, being in some cases very improbable, may be seen in the margin (Z). However, according

^e At Amsterdam, vide Barrios Gouvirno popular. Judaico, p. 42. Menasseh. Esperanza d'Israel, p. 99.

(Z) Shâh Abbas having granted great privileges to all strangers to settle in his depopulated dominions, the Jews came in such shoals, and so soon engrossed the commerce and riches from the rest, that

complaint was made of it to that prince.

But he being afraid that his severity to them should make others retire from his dominions, found a lucky pretence to persecute them by the authority

ing to our author^f, it did not take place till an. 1642, in the reign of Abbas II. who having a more peaceable reign, began to search into the register of the palace, and among others, found that of his father's contract with them, mentioned in the last note. He was so much more surpris'd at it, because Zabbathai Tzevi made then a great noise, and was looked upon by the Jews as the Messiah, who came to disengage them from their obligation.

Accordingly Abbas II. called a great council to deliberate on that important affair, where it was unanimously agreed that the Jewish nation ought to be destroyed without delay, because it encouraged so many cheats, who aimed at

A.D. 1666.

^f Hist. of the Three Impostors, p. 114.

ty of the Koran; where it is said, that they were to embrace the Moslem faith, six hundred years after its publication; and would have destroyed them accordingly, on refusal, if the musli had not prevented it. However, their chakhams, or doctors, were summoned, and closely examined concerning several parts of their religion; such as the abolition of their sacrifices, and other rites, at the coming of Isai or Jesus Christ, their refusing to believe in him, tho' the Koran speaks honourably of him, and their opinion of Mohammed and his book. They not being able to give satisfactory answers, had recourse to prayers for mercy, and to protestations that they only settled in his dominions with a design to serve him.

Abbas insisted that they should fix a time for the coming of their expected Messiah; and promised that they should be tolerated till then; and that if he came accordingly, he and

his successors would embrace his religion; but that if he did not, they should either turn Moslems, or suffer the loss of their lives, children, and estates: they had some time granted to make their answer; and after mature deliberation, told the Sháh that the Messiah was to appear in seventy years, reckoning from the day on which they had been summoned before him; by which expedient they at least procrastinated the threatened punishment till after his death. Abbas made them pay dear for their toleration, caused the agreement to be registered, and signed on both sides; and taxed the Jews at two millions of gold. Abbas died in the 3d year of his age, A. D. 1620; and a hundred and fifteen years elapsed from his reign, before the contract above-mentioned was thought on; the Persian kingdom being all that time distracted with wars against the Turks (6).

(6) Dom. Miguel de Barrios Hist. Univers. Judaic. p. 4. Basnag. lib. ix. c. 26, § 9.

nothing but to oppress the rest of mankind. The order was accordingly issued out, both to the Persians and strangers, to butcher them without exception of age or sex, or of any but those that turned Moslems. The massacre began at Ispahan, the capital of the kingdom, and was carried on with the same severity in the provinces of Schiras, Ghelan, Hamadan, Ardan, and Tauris, where the Jews were settled, and lasted three years, without intermission or pity; insomuch that there was not one of them left in all those provinces, where they had gained immense wealth. Some few found, indeed, means to fly into the Turkish dominions, and others into India; and many saved their lives, by abjuring Judaism. But as he afterwards observed that most of those conversions were feigned and forced, it is not improbable that they might disgust him from proceeding farther, and induce him to restore to them the full liberty of their religion, in which it was the custom of the Persians to indulge all strangers. We read accordingly that they enjoyed it a long time after, that is, till one of the shâh's ministers, either out of hatred to them, or with a design to enrich himself by their spoil, prevailed upon his master to persecute them afresh^e. He spared neither fair nor violent means to gain his end, and even obtained an order from him to forbid the exercise of the Jewish religion, in order to make them turn Mohammedans. He caused them to be closely watched, and found upon the whole, that whatever shew they might make of a change, they still continued in their old religion; which obstinacy at length obliged him to let them still remain bad Jews, since he could not make them good Moslems. However, those at Ispahan are very poor, and in small number; are obliged to pay a sequin per head to the king, and to wear a piece of cloth on their breasts, of about two or three inches, and of a different colour, upon their upper garment, by way of distinction. It is plain moreover, from Thevenot, who was in those parts from anno 1663, to 1665; that is, some years before the time of the Jewish massacre, that, upon his going thither, they enjoyed full liberty of conscience; since, he adds, that the Persians thought it strange, that Eatemad Doulet should have taken it into his head some time before to oblige them to turn Mohammedans.

The tribe of Levi pretend to have maintained themselves in Shiras, where the Persians had a famed academy;

Obtain liberty of conscience.

Their sham conversions.

Distinction of dress in Persia.

Tribe of Levi at Shiras.

^e Thevenot, Voyag. Engl. part ii. lib. ii. cap. 14. p. 110.

and we are told, that there are a greater number of Jews in it than in Ispahan; but how the Levitical tribe, whether it be the descendants of those that staid in Babylon, or of those that returned with Ezra, should have maintained itself there, and ingrossed the wine and glass trade (for that is what they are chiefly employed in) is not easy to guess. They are still more numerous at Lar, the metropolis of one of those provinces, and have a quarter peculiar to them at the foot of the mountain between the town and the castle^b. They extend themselves into the country, on the side of Ormus and Bender Abassi, in order to get some part of the Indian trade into their hands, which was once carried on by their brethren, who were formerly very numerous in those parts. But to return to Persia, and the provinces depending on it.

Baghdad, once the residence of the princes of the captivity, is so gradually dwindled, since its being taken by Amurat IV. anno 1638, that it hath not above fifteen thousand inhabitants; and among them a good number of Jews, who have their synagogue in it, and increase yearly by the concourse of pilgrims, who visit the tomb of Ezekiel formerly mentioned; but still they are hated by the Persians, and kept very poor, though they enjoy the free exercise of their religion. They are said to live more peaceably in Armenia^c, though their own writers tells us, that those of Masca having accused them of killing a Christian, because he was seen to go into a Jewish house, and not to come out of it again, an information was immediately lodged against them; and the murder being confessed by the accused, they crucified some, and burnt others, not even sparing Abiob, a celebrated physician, whom they cast into the flames. Three days after these executions, the Christian appeared, the accusation was found to have been laid out of hatred to them, and the confession to have been extorted by torture. Complaint being made of it to Solyman II. the Armenian magistrates were forbidden, from thenceforth, to take cognizance of such criminal cases, and ordered to bring them before the sultan. This story, if true, which is taken from an anonymous writer who lived in Egypt, and is intituled, *The Sufferings of the Jews*, shews plainly, that, if they live quietly among the Armenians, it is rather owing to the protection of the Porte, than to any good liking or con-

Jews at Lar, &c.

at Baghdad.

In Armenia, persecuted.

^b Thevenot, *Voyag. Engl.* part. ii. lib. iii. cap. 4. p. 131.
^c Herbert's *Voy. in Persia*, an. 1677.

formity between them, hinted at by the author last quoted.

Their number in Media, and Georgia, &c.

They are still numerous in Media, whither they had been transplanted by Sennacherib; but whether they kept footing there ever since, as they pretend, is hard to guess. However, they are said to have one hundred families against forty of Christians. They are not suffered to settle at Scamacia, a trading city on the Caspian Sea; but the Tartars, who bring thither boys, girls, and horses to sell, are obliged to tolerate, and intermix with them for the sake of that commerce. They spread themselves as far as the foot of mount Caucasus: and we are told, that the prince of Mingrelia, as well as that of Imiretta, pretend to be descended from king David. The ancient monarchs of Georgia boasted the same extract; and the cham of that country, among his other titles, takes that of a descendant from that Jewish king by his son Solomon. They give indeed no solid proof of it, though there is a great mixture of Judaism among them; and there is the small city situated at the foot of Caucasus, called Alak-zike, in which they had formerly a synagogue built by the Georgians, but which the Turks have since taken from them^k. This is the state of the Jews in Persia, Media, Armenia, and other provinces of this large part of the East. They have their synagogues, and are very numerous, since they are found in all the trading cities from Bassora and the Indies, quite to Mingrelia, Georgia, &c. But their tribes have long since been so confounded and blended, that they are no longer distinguished. What is still worse, they are very poor and ignorant, and for the most part, get a miserable living by the lowest and meanest services in life; they have neither commerce nor correspondence with their brethren in the West, and hardly know any thing of them.

Trade.

Poverty.

Why so few in Judea.

One would naturally expect, that Judea, their once dear country, should have a greater number of them than either Syria or Egypt; but as all its noble streams of milk and honey have been long since dried up, their love for it hath cooled in proportion. It is indeed frequently visited by their devotees, who go thither in pilgrimage, as well as the Christians; but few of either sort care to settle in it, since they find it so difficult not only to grow rich, but even to get a tolerable subsistence in that quarter.

^k Chardin's Voyage into Persia, p. 107, & seq.

Sapheta, or, as the Jews commonly call it, Sephet, or rather Tzepheth, a city in Galilee, is the most populous and the most noted that the Jews have in this province. It enjoys several advantages above the rest (A), and they are used with greater mildness than in any other part of the Ottoman empire¹. It hath an academy, which is still famous, and much resorted to, and hath had some learned professors in it; and, though the Jewish nation have for a long time lost their relish for learning, yet they send their children to be instructed in the Hebrew tongue, for it is their notion, that it can be no where taught in its purity so well as there, and Sapheta is now become what Tiberias was once. All that we need add, is, that there is not a city in Palestine, where they have subsisted so long, and even to this day, and with so much credit and safety. They had set up here a printing-house for Hebrew books, as they had likewise at Thessalonica and Constantinople, which were afterwards suppressed by the Porte^m.

The academy of Sapheta.
Learned men.

The Jews are still in much smaller numbers at Jerusalem, where there are reckoned only about a hundred families, who live mostly upon Mount Sion. A few of them are employed in the customs, or by the governor as secretaries and clerks; and all the rest are poor beggars, who live chiefly upon alms sent to them from their richer brethren in the East and West. These have hammered out a strange excuse for their want of zeal, and averseness to settle in that holy city. They tell us, that it is to be reduced to ashes at the coming of the Messiah, by a fire from heaven, which is to be immediately followed by a miraculous rain that shall extinguish it; to the end that the holy place may be purified by fire and water, from the pollutions which the Christians and Mohammedans have committed in it; their fear therefore of being involved in that dreadful conflagration, is the motive that keeps them from dwelling near it. They will doubtless speak more sincerely, if they owned, that the little traffic that is carried on there, the heavy imposts laid on them by the

Few Jews at Jerusalem.

Their pretence for it.

¹ Fuller's Pisgah Sight, p. 111. ^m De his vid. Maittaire's Anal. Typogr. Orlandi Orig. della Stampa. Palmer's Hist. of Printing.

The true reason of it.

(A) It is situated in the heads, and difficult of access, tribe of Naphthali, about nine miles from Bethsaidah, and from the incursions of the built on a mountain with three plundering Arabs.

Turks, the extreme poverty which reigns among them that live in it, and the insults and mortifications they are exposed to from the Mohammedans, who have an equal, if not a greater, veneration for that city, and many Santons living in it, are the real discouragements that keep them from settling there.

A.D. 1517.

R. Jaacob.

The famed Rabbi Jaacob resided in this city at the time that Selim took it, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, who compiled a learned work, called, *The Eye of Israel*, which was a collection of the various expositions of the law which are found in the Talmud. Several doctors had already compiled all that concerns the questions of Jewish rights and rites; but Jaacob collected those that relate to the law, and are scattered in that large volume. He did not live to finish his design, but left it to his son Levi, who was no less learned than his father; and who completed, published, and prefaced it with lively tokens of sorrow for his father's untimely death. It was on account of this work, that a violent rupture happened among the contemplative professors of Sapheta, which lasted during Levi's whole life. But after his death, the jealousy which his learning had raised, began to cool, his memory to be revered, and his book, which saved the reading of several large volumes, was received with great applause.

A.D. 1538.

A rupture among the rabbies of Sapheta.

We read of another learned Jew of this city, whose avarice or ambition induced him to make such a fair profession of Christianity, that he, by degrees, raised himself to the dignity of patriarch of Jerusalem. Not yet satisfied with his good fortune, he repaired to Constantinople, in hopes of obtaining the patriarchate of that city, which was then vacant; but being there seized with a dangerous sickness, which made him think himself near his end, he sent for several bishops, and a much greater number of Jewish doctors, to his bed-side, to whom he openly declared, that he had always believed the Jewish religion to be the best; that he renounced his bishoprick of Jerusalem, in order to die in his old faith, which he had never forsaken but in outward professionⁿ.

Confesses his dissimulation.

Jews at Damascus.

The Jews in Syria are much more numerous and flourishing than in Judea. They have always had their synagogues, chakams, and learned men at Damascus. Besides they have obtained from the Christians a celebrated

ⁿ Hilar. continuat. Phil. Cypr. Chron. Eccl. Græc. p. 497, & seq. Ap. Basnag. ubi supra. cap. 28. sect. ult.

spot of ground, pretended to be that where Elijah the prophet called Elisha to be his servant, and where they have reared a sumptuous synagogue instead of the church which the Christians had built °. They have likewise a public burying ground near the city, which is only parted by an alley from that of the Christians. They are no less numerous at Aleppo, where they have stately synagogues, drive a considerable traffic, and signalize themselves in an uncommon manner, on all public shews and festivals, especially on the birth of young princes, in order to ingratiate themselves with the Ottoman court, and with the governor of the place P.

It was in this city that the infamous Zabathai Tzevi, *The false Messiah*, another false Messiah, was born; and, notwithstanding his mean extract and education (B), formed the design of setting up for the great deliverer of Israel. *Zabathai Tzevi.*

To

° Thevenot's Voy. of the Levant, lib. i. tom. iv. p. 50.
P Stochov. Voy. of the Levant, p. 314.

(B) Some make him a native of Smyrna, but more of Aleppo. He was a poulterer's son, and was scarcely come from school, before he began to preach in the streets and fields, even before the Turks, who only laughed at him, whilst his disciples highly admired him. He married a young Jewess in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and divorced her immediately after, without having touched her. He took a second, with whom he lived in abstinence, probably to dazzle the eyes of the multitude, by his pretended love of chastity. He conversed so long with the writings of the prophets, that his brain was disordered. He fancied he could fly up into the air, and blamed his followers for not having perceived him mounted on the clouds. He also pretended to perform other miracles by the power of the name Jehovah; for which some of the wiser sort sum-

moned him before the synagogue, and condemned him to death; but, as they could not get any to execute their sentence, they contented themselves with banishing him.

He passed over to Theffalonica, a city where the Jews were very numerous; and which, consequently, appeared a very fit place to play his tricks in; but he was soon banished out of it, and from Athens and other Greek towns, and retired to Alexandria. He had by this time taken for his third wife, a young Jewish woman who had been debauched, and whom her parents had left in Poland under the care of a Christian nobleman. Tzevi gave out, that the soul of her father had passed from Asia into Poland, to transport her stark naked into his house; and he married her after she had travelled with him through Germany and Italy. His brother, who was a tobacco-nist at

*His precursor
for shews
him to
them.*

To render his character most conspicuous and agreeable to the predictions of the prophets, there was a necessity that it should be ushered in by an Elijah, or forerunner; and he made choice accordingly of a very noted Jew at Gaza, named Nathan Levi, a very fit person to promote his design; who gave the more easily into it, because, according to the interpretation of the cabalists on a passage of Daniel, the Messiah was to appear on or about the year 1675. His first step was to assemble all the Jews in Jerusalem, and to abolish the fast which was there celebrated in the month of June following, because it was now inconsistent with the coming of the Messiah. He then shewed Tzevi to them, and told them, that he was the miraculous person who was to be their deliverer, and to destroy the Ottoman empire, on November following. He met however with fresh opposition from the wiser sort, who plainly foresaw, that this intended insurrection would go near to cause the ruin of their nation in that empire; upon which they pronounced him an impostor, anathematized, and condemned him to death; alleging, that neither he had the characteristics of a Messiah, nor Levi those of his forerunner (C).

*Condemned
to death.*

Tzevi, however, who found his party much more numerous than that of his opposers, caused them to assemble

at Franckfort, left his shop to go to him, in hopes to get some of the best posts under him; and had the comfort to be added to the vast number of the fools he had already made.

(C) He was thereupon forced to leave Jerusalem, and to go to Smyrna and Constantinople; in which last he expected a plentiful harvest of disciples; but the Jews there had already been informed by letters from the twenty-five rabbies, who had excommunicated him, of the sentence passed against him; in which they pronounced him an impious wretch, and declared that whoever killed him, would do an acceptable service to God. This obliged him to

post away back to Smyrna, where his presence was necessary upon another account; viz. to receive four ambassadors sent him by his pretended precursor to acknowledge him for the Messiah. This embassy imposed still more upon the people; insomuch that several of their doctors were deceived. What added still more weight to it, was his affected humility, his frequent washings, his being the first at their synagogues; but especially his pathetic sermons to them there, which had such an effect upon them, that they could no longer resist acknowledging him for their king and making him suitable presents.

ble in the great synagogue of Smyrna, where he several times pronounced the name Jehovah, and made some few alterations in their liturgy; whilst the audience not only acknowledged his authority, but pretended to behold something divine in his person. A fresh sentence of anathema and death pronounced against him by the rabbies, did not in the least intimidate him; because he knew that none would dare to put it into execution against him. He went however to the Kadi, whom his friends had found means to gain, and put himself under his protection; the giddy multitude giving out, that they had seen fire come out of his mouth like a pillar; upon which he was brought back in triumph, accompanied with shouts out of Psalm cxviii. ver. 16, The right hand of the Lord is exalted, &c.

Bribes the Kadi.

As he wanted now nothing but a throne to complete his character, he caused one to be raised for himself, from which he spoke to his subjects; and another for his queen, as he stiled her. He gave them likewise a new set form of faith, which all the world was to receive as from the mouth of the Messiah. Some of those who opposed it, were forced to save themselves by flight; others, who had been incredulous till then, owned themselves convinced, being either really so, or borne away by the torrent; and were industrious in applying to him the accomplishment of the divine oracles. When he found himself raised to this height of authority, he ordered the Sultan's name to be erased out of the Jewish liturgy, and his own to be written in its stead. Then he began to dispense the high dignities of his future kingdom among his most staunch favourites, styling himself the king of kings of Israel, and his brother Joseph Tzevi, king of kings of Judah. He embarked at length for Constantinople, in a small vessel, whilst the rest of his followers went thither by land, and was nine-and-thirty days at sea; by which time the Grand Seigneur, being informed of his coming, sent orders to his visir Azem to apprehend him, and have him severely bastonadoed, an order which was executed accordingly.

Erects his throne.

Imposes on the Jews.

His title.

Apprehended and bastonadoed.

The Jews were not at all surpris'd at this accident, but began to recollect, that, according to Levi's prediction, the Messiah was to be concealed nine months, during which he was to be a great sufferer; so that they looked upon this misfortune as an accomplishment of that prediction. Tzevi, on the other hand, being asked, why he had taken upon himself the title of king? answered, that he

The blindness of his followers.

*Confined in
the Dar-
danel.*

*Sends am-
bassadors to
the Jews.*

*Opposed in
his prison.*

*Brought to
the sultan.*

*Turns Mo-
hammedan,
and is be-
headed.*

he had assumed it against his will, and to avoid the resentment of the Jews, who forced him to it. This answer obliged the visir, who was then preparing for his departure into Candia, to use him more mildly, and to confine him in the Dardanel. His imprisonment was looked upon as a new miracle; and the Jews declared that it was out of the sultan's power to put him to death. A vast concourse of them repaired to the Dardanel, where, having by dint of presents bribed the governor, they went and made much richer offerings to their Messiah, who gave orders to have his birth-day celebrated. He sent ambassadors to all the Jews to assure them, that he was the Messiah, and to acquaint them with the miracles which he pretended to have wrought, and was still to work. He gave at the same time a plenary indulgence to those that should go and offer their devotions at his mother's tomb; and the Jews, on their part, came in shoals to pay their homage to him in his prison. Even those of the Portuguese synagogue at Amsterdam, composed a form of prayer, which was to be used by their brethren who went to Adrianople to see this pretended Messiah: but, in the height of all his success, came one Nehemiah Cohen, a Polish Jew, to his very prison to prove him an impostor; and, the more effectually to ruin him, turned Mohammedan, and revealed the whole mystery to the kaimakan. The mufti being also acquainted with it, was highly exasperated that such a man should be suffered to live, who disgraced the Mohammedan religion by pretending to be the Messiah. Application was thereupon made to the sultan, who ordered the impostor to be brought to him at Adrianople, and pierced through with a sword or dart to try whether he was invulnerable.

Tzevi could find no other way to escape this experiment, than by turning Mohammedan, by the advice, and after the example, of the sultan's physician, who had taken the same step. His wife turned likewise, and all the Jews hearing of their apostacy, were greatly surprised and disheartened. His cabalistical friends found means to keep up their hopes by affirming, that the Messiah was to be for some time among the Turks, as Esther had formerly been with king Ahashuerus; but all the wiser Jews were covered with shame at his apostacy and imposture. Nevertheless, such was the credulity of the greatest part of them, that, though Tzevi was afterwards beheaded, by

order of the Grand Seigneur, the generality of them believe him to be still alive, another impostor having since risen, as it were out of his tomb, who persuaded them, that Tzevi was the real Messiah; and that he should appear again in the world in a glorious manner. *Pretended to be still alive.*

Tzevi being beheaded by order of the sultan, was in a manner forgot, when a Jew, named Daniel Israel, who had dwelt in Smyrna six or seven years, took it into his head to persuade his nation that he was still alive, and concealed in some corner, where he was to continue about forty-five years; after which he would appear again, according to Daniel's prophecy, to this purpose: "And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination of the desolation set up, shall elapse one thousand two hundred and ninety days; blessed is he that watcheth, and cometh to the one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days!" when he shall appear and deliver his people. These days are prophetic years; the accomplishment of which precisely fell to the term of forty-five years after the death, or retreat of Sabathai Tzevi. *A new impostor proclaims his second coming.*

This Daniel was neither rabbi nor doctor, but one that read the law in the synagogue, and used divers artifices to deceive those that heard him. Being seated at table, he pronounced these words in Hebrew with a loud voice, "I have heard, and my entrails were troubled;" and at once rose up with such velocity, that he seemed to be carried off by some superior force. As he moved farther, a globe of fire appearing in the sky, seemed to follow all his motions, until he turned his face about towards the beholders: then, pronouncing these words, "The Lord is king, the Lord is king, the Lord shall reign for ever and ever." The fiery globe settled upon his breast, where the word Jehovah appeared written upon it, but presently after disappeared. *Some surprising tricks performed by him.*

These prodigies, with some other juggling tricks, astonished a great number of Jews; and among them the famed Abraham Michael Raphael Cardozo, who dwelled in Candia. They did not believe Daniel to be a magician, but a real prophet, who acted by the power of God. They took it for granted, that Sabathai Tzevi was still alive, and waited with impatience for his appearing: in the mean time, they celebrated the 26th of Kistew, or 18th of December, which was his birth-day, with great solemnity. *Great Jews taken with them.*

Neither the Christians, nor the Kadi, would have known any thing of this imposture, had there not happened a rupture *The cheat discovered.*

rupture among the Jews; for to do the wiser sort of them justice, they strenuously opposed this adventurer; so that of necessity the matter came to light, and was brought before that judge, to whom they offered a sum of one hundred and seventy-five sixdollars, to cause him to be expelled the city. Daniel's friends, at the same time, offered a much larger sum to save him; and, though these offers commonly turn the scale to the heaviest side, yet the kadi, fearing lest he should be called to an account for having protected one of Tzevi's disciples, who was raising a man from the dead, whom the Porte had caused to be executed, actually banished him; and he continued some time at the small town of Cassaba, in the valley of Magnesia, near the river Ormus, still declaring he would return to Smyrna with all his followers, because the government of the kadi was to expire within six months.

Kadi banishes him.

The end of that impostor.

But the death of Cardoso, who maintained the impostor, and had been murdered by his son-in-law at Grand Cairo, had put a final end to the cheat; the murderer fled into a Turkish mosque, and turned Moslem; but we are not told what became of Daniel Israel. Cardoso was, it seems, a great admirer of Nostradamus's predictions, which he had read at Salamanca, whilst he was a student in that city. From these circumstances, we may judge how numerous, powerful, and flourishing, the Jews are in all the Turkish dominions; and, indeed, they have found means, though despised by all the Mohammedans, to make themselves so useful to them, that there is hardly any traffick carried on without them, but especially with the Christians, with whom they scorn to deal without a Jewish broker: as the Turks are commonly honest and well-meaning, they seldom fail of being made the dupes of both, and the Jews of being well paid for their knavery; so that they would of course grow vastly rich, if the government did not load them with heavy taxes for the liberty they enjoy: but let us now see how the Jews fared in Ethiopia, Egypt, and the rest of Africa, during these three last centuries.

Jews carry on a great traffick.

Jews in Ethiopia.

We begin with Ethiopia, where they live more peaceably, and more easily maintain themselves by the conformity there is between their religion and customs and those of the Ethiopians, who boast themselves to be sprung from the same stock. Those that live here never received the Talmud, nor any of that heap of traditions under

* Letter of Mr. Hochepered, consul of Smyrna, to Mr. Cuper, Jan. 6, 1703.

which their religion is buried in other places. Upon the inundation of the Saracens into that country, they went and ſheltered themſelves in Abyſſinia, where they met with a very kind reception^s; they ſtill pretend to be very numerous and powerful there, and to have been maſters of ſome conſiderable kingdoms in this country. It is not eaſy to gueſs how early they were ſettled in Æthiopia; but if we may believe a modern traveller, who hath been in thoſe parts, there were not any to be found in any part of it, except upon a vaſt high and ſpacious mountain, inaccessible on all ſides but one, and that very rocky, difficult, and dangerous; and here it was that our author tells us they were ſeated^t, the top of it having a moſt delicious plain, of vaſt extent, full of ſmall brooks, fine fruits, and excellent paſtorage, where they live in plenty of all things, without ever coming down, or having any communication with the inhabitants of Abyſſinia. Here it was that Claude, the ſon of David, being driven by his brother, and Goranha, king of Adel, took refuge, and was received by the Jews, with open arms, and defended by them with ſuch bravery and faithfulneſs againſt the forces of the latter, that they obliged them to retire, for which brave action they enjoyed his protection and friendſhip, after he had mounted the throne, during his whole reign.

Their high ſituation.

A.D. 1540.

Fidelity to king Claude.

Oviêdo, ſent thither patriarch by pope Julius III. confirms their living only in ſuch high and inaccessible mountains; and adds, that they ſtripped the Chriſtians of many tracts of land upon them. He aſſerts, that the kings of Ethiopia cannot bring them into ſubjection, by reaſon of the difficulty of coming at them; ſo that they live in a manner independent, and form a kind of republic of their own. They ſtill maintained themſelves in the ſame independency towards the beginning of the laſt century; inſomuch; that they were ſometimes dreaded by the Abyſſinian kings, and were maſters of near three provinces. Suſneus al Sultan Saged, a bold and ſucceſſful prince, who had gained ſeveral victories over the Gallas, or Gallani, and died afterwards, A. D. 1632, marched againſt them with a powerful army, and attacked them on their inaccessible rocks, and forced them to diſlodge; and to diſperſe through the kingdom^u. Some of them retired quite up to the

Live independent from him.

^s Heyman's Letter to Mr. Cuper, 29th Jan. 1707. Ludolph's Hiſt. Ethiop. lib. ii. cap. 1.

^t Joh. de Castro Sinus Arab. ſeu

Maris Rubr. Itinerar. p. 32.

^u Pauli V. Epist. ad Suſneum.

ap. Ludolph. Comm. ad Hiſt. Æthiop. p. 491.

*Driven
from their
strong
holds.*

springs of the Nile, and among the Caffres; others are still in the province of Demba, where they apply themselves to the iron and woollen manufactures; which being odious to the Abyssinians, are left wholly to them, on condition that they shall furnish them with all the necessary implements of war. They have their synagogues and free exercise of religion, in which they make use of the Talmudic Hebrew, though they have not adopted that book. They are likewise very numerous at the court of the Abyssinian princes, insomuch, that an Arabian who had been there, told Mr. Ludolph, that there were no less than sixty thousand attending their camp ^w. They trade with the Christians as well as the Ethiopians, and live in perfect friendship with them.

A.D. 1524.

*Great deli-
verance in
Egypt.*

Those of Egypt were like to have undergone a more severe fate, when Achmed, governor of it, revolted against Soliman II. and laid a tax on them of two hundred talents. Because they pleaded insolvency, and had brought but fifteen talents into the treasury, he gave orders that all who had not paid should be imprisoned ^x; but here Providence interposed, Achmed was seized and put to death, and tranquility restored to the city of Cairo, where they celebrated a feast in memory of their deliverance, and called it Nassimo, which signifies both a miracle, and the

A.D. 1673.

post on which Achmed's head was affixed ^y. That city was full of Jews, most of them very rich merchants; but the liberty granted to their nation, invited the rest to disperse themselves all over that country, where they exercised a great variety of trades, and carried on some considerable manufactures: they pretend to have been there more numerous about this time than ever they were in Moses's days; but their number, we are assured, is since very much dwindled, they having hardly any settlements except at Cairo, and some of the maritime towns, but so far from having any in the country, that they were obliged to go disguised, whenever trade, or any other occasion, called them thither, to prevent being insulted or abused by peasants and common people ^z.

A.D. 1555.

*R. Moses
Alejcar.*

About the middle of the sixteenth century flourished the famed Moses Alejcar, or the Red, who wrote a learned defence of Maimonides, in which he refuted all that had been objected against that learned rabbi.

^w Ap. Ludolph. lib. ii. cap. 7. lib. iv. cap. 5. N. 12.
Ben. Virg. p. 402. ^y Gantz Tzemach, sub. an.
aleb Reiat of Egypt, p. 15.

^x Solom.
^z Van-

Most other known parts of Africa not only protect but encourage the Jewish nation; and they are the principal traders into the inland provinces, whence they bring not only slaves and gold-dust, but abundance of other commodities, especially gums and drugs. The misfortune is, that they adulterate every thing that comes through their hands. So rich some of them are, that it was by the bare spoil of one of them that Muley Archey, king of Taphilet, was enabled to seize on the province of Quiviana, and to dispossess his brother, then king of Morocco and Fez; in gratitude for which he granted the Jews all their former privileges, and made Josuah Ben Hamosheth prince of that nation^a. His brother Ishmael, who succeeded him, favoured them still more, and as an acknowledgement for the great services which he had received from Dom Joseph de Toledo, during his disgrace at Miquenez, not only made him one of the principal officers of his household, but sent him envoy into divers courts of Europe, and he was the person who concluded the peace with the United Provinces, A. D. 1684^b. His son inherited the same dignities.

Rich and powerful.

They had likewise been a long while settled at Oran, and were intrusted in some of the highest places in that city; yet such was their fidelity to the Spaniards, notwithstanding the ill-treatment they had received, that they were the people who betrayed it to them, if it was not rather their avarice, and the great sums with which cardinal Ximenes bought their perfidy. However that be, they have continued very faithful to them ever since: when the town was in great danger from their neighbours of being re-taken, the Jews resolved to lose their lives in its defence; and when the garrison threatened to revolt, at another time, for want of pay and provisions, they suppressed it by a timely supply of both. All these services did not prevent their being banished from the place, A. D. 1669; on what account is not easy to guess.

Betray Oran to the Spaniards.

A.D. 1669.

Banished from it.

A.D. 1535. & seq.

They have likewise been very numerous and flourishing in the province of Suz, which formerly depended on the kingdom of Morocco, but has been since dismembered from it. They had in the capital of that principality a very rich and sumptuous synagogue, which was served by several priests and officers. They had their judges and interpreters of the law, who were maintained at the charge

Numerous at Suz.

^a Hist. of Taphilet. ubi supra, sec. 17,

^b Histor. General de Barrios. Basnag.

of the people, and these get their living by traffic and labour. There are great numbers of them in the mountains of Morocco, who are employed in the iron manufacture, building, and other such laborious employments, to which the inhabitants are averse: but this employment doth not hinder others from trying their fortunes at court, and raising themselves to eminent posts. One of that nation, named Pacheco, was sent ambassador to the United Provinces, and died at the Hague, A. D. 1604, and was buried there with great pomp. Some time after, their synagogues having been demolished in the kingdom of Fez, Muley Mohammed not only caused them to be rebuilt as soon as he came to the throne, but made one of that nation his high treasurer and prime minister ^c.

A.D. 1660.

Synagogues rebuilt.

Jews in Turkey and Constantinople.

But of all other countries the Turkish dominions have the greatest number of, and favour them most, and Constantinople above all other places; insomuch, that there is neither lord or merchant, Moslem or Christian, but hath one of them in pay, who is the chief steward of the household, makes all his bargains, takes care of affairs both at home and abroad; besides, they are employed by the ambassadors, as well as the inhabitants, as couriers, in all their negotiations. We formerly took notice, that they had their quarter in the suburb of Galata, called from thence the Jewry; but it hath been since removed to the sea-side, where they have their synagogue, houses, and shops, and the privilege of selling of wine, of which they make a considerable gain, because their's is preferred to that of the Armenians, on account of the Jewish law forbidding all mixtures; so that they reckon their's the purest and best. They carry on likewise a great commerce; are brokers between the Turks and Christians, and lend money on usury, as they do in most other countries: for all these privileges they pay a capitation to the Porte; but, instead of its being levied on them by the officer of the empire, they have agreed with him for a certain sum, which is brought to him by the chief of each synagogue, who lays it on them according to every man's worth, by which the poorer sort are relieved from too heavy imposts.

Trade and privileges.

Capitation.

Poverty.

Notwithstanding all these regulations, they have a great many among them, whom extreme misery obliges to turn Moslems ^d, in which conversion no other ceremony is required than an examination of the motives of their change,

^c Cario Marochens. Regn. Descript. p. 308—341.
venot's Voyage into the Levant, book i. chap. 32.

^d The-

and their pronouncing the following words, La Illah-
Illalah Mohammed Refoul Allah, that is, *There is no other
God but God; and Mohammed is his prophet*; but for the
generality, they are very thriving and in great credit.

The Christians accuse one of them, that was physician
to Bajazet II. of having been bribed by his son Selim to
poison him in his flight to Demoticha, which he had no
sooner done, than Selim caused him to be put to death.

A.D. 1472.

*Bajazet
poisoned.*

But neither Selim nor the Jew are charged by the Turks
with that black deed, Bajazet's death being looked upon
by them to have been natural. However that be, it was
a Jew named Michses, who, out of spite to the Venetians,
inspired Selim II. with the first notion of conquering the
fair island of Cyprus: that conqueror granted the Jewish
nation very great privileges in it; and not long afterwards
sent another Jew, called Solomon Rephe, to Venice, to
negociate a peace with that republic.

A.D. 1579.

*Cyprus
taken by
Selim II.*

They obtained soon after a much greater privilege from
him, viz. that of setting up printing presses, both in his
metropolis and in Thessalonica, by which their books,
which were then very scarce and dear, came to be disper-
sed every where, and were bought at such an easy rate,
that people applied themselves more closely and univer-
sally to the study of them. The consequence was, that
there appeared soon after several eminent rabbies, and
chiefs of the synagogues. Solomon, the son of Japhie,
who had left Germany to settle in that capital, read
his expositions on the Jerusalem Talmud. R. Ge-
daliah, another learned doctor, who boasted himself de-
scended from king David, likewise left Lisbon, his na-
tive place, to settle there as a physician, and at the
same time taught the rites of the Jewish nation. He be-
came afterwards chief of the synagogue, and laboured
much to re-unite the Caraites and Rabbinists, but found
both sides too stiff to yield; so that the former only took
the advantage of their mutual conferences to print and
publish several of their own books. The last of note we
shall mention, is Mordecai, the son of Eliezer, who called
himself the Constantinopolitan, though he commonly re-
sided at Adrianople, and there expounded the grammar
of Aben Ezra, intituled *Jessod Morah, or the Foundation
of Fear*.

A.D. 1576.

*Printing
set up at
Constanti-
nople.*

There are some places indeed in Greece out of which
they have been expelled, particularly the city of Salona,

where they were mortally hated by the inhabitants, Turks as well as Greeks. - At Athens they had been fixed ever since the apostle's time, but were afterwards forbid to settle in it; a prohibition which may be perhaps owing to the Christians, who are much more numerous there than the Turks^o. But there are others in which they are numerous and powerful, especially at Patras, where they have four synagogues, chuse their own judges from among themselves, and have a spacious burying place on a neighbouring mountain, which at a distance looks like a large city. They are settled at Lepanto, Livadia, Corinth, and other cities of Greece, and live by their commerce; but that country is in so sad and desolate a condition, through the heavy taxes they are obliged to pay to the Porte, and its more ravenous officers, that they are for the most part very poor. They fare much better at Thessalonica, where we find them settled ever since the time of St. Paul; and have had a considerable academy for some centuries, as well as a printing-house; which last was since taken from them. Here flourished likewise several eminent rabbies; and hither the Jews still send their children from Constantinople, and other parts, to be taught the Hebrew tongue.

We read of about six thousand settled at Gallipoli, a city in the Thracian Chersonesus, near the mouth of the Propontis, and a much greater number at Prusia on the Mysian coast, near Mount Olympus; there being reckoned twelve thousand living within the walls of it, while the Christians are forced to dwell in the suburbs^p. They had formerly also a settlement at Rhodes, near one of the walls of the city, which was thence called the wall and quarter of the Jews^q; but soon after the raising of the siege by the Turks, the master of the Rhodian knights proposed to their council that they should be banished; they were exiled accordingly, not only out of the whole island, but out of all the places under their dominions. It was likewise then resolved, that the Jews, not having the same natural right over their children that other parents have, should baptize and educate them at the public charge, lest they in time should go out of the island, and return to their old religion. As for their parents, they were ordered to sell their effects, and depart within the space of forty days, but were forbid to go and settle in the Levant, lest they should serve as spies to the Porte. How-

^o Sir G. Wheeler Voy. tom. i. p. 398.

^p Id. Ibid. p. 185.

^q Spon. Voy. tom. i. p. 209.

ever, upon that island's being retaken by the Turks, the Jews returned and settled in it, and are used with greater mildness than the Christians^q, who are obliged to leave their shops and warehouses at night, and go and lie in the suburbs and villages adjacent. The Jews, however, do not amount to above two hundred; but they are more numerous at Smyrna, where they are reckoned about six thousand, and have a good number of synagogues^r. Upon the whole, there is hardly any considerable city or town in the Ottoman empire in which there are not some of them, though every where oppressed by the sultân's officers.

A.D. 1652.

*Rhodes re-
taken by
the Turks.*

It is now time to return into Europe, and take a view of them through all those Christian states wherein they are still tolerated.

We begin with Italy, where, though we have seen them hitherto protected and favoured, for the most part by the popes, yet their writers open the fifteenth century with a dreadful persecution, which the then warlike pontiff, John XXIII. raised by his several edicts against them. Not content to persecute them in his dominions, he wrote a letter to the queen-regent of Spain, during the minority of her son John II. desiring her to act in concert with him; which she did accordingly, and with such severity, that she obliged sixteen thousand of them to renounce Judaism, whilst of those who persisted in it, one part were condemned to the flames and other cruel deaths, and the rest were massacred by the peasants in their flight, except some few who bought their lives with their money^s. This calamity, however, proved but of short duration, at least in Italy; and the Jews had the pleasure, soon after, to hear that their persecutor was himself reduced to a more desperate state than they. Nicholas II. having ascended the papal chair, began not only to comfort and protect those within his dominions, but to suppress the inquisitors that plagued them. He likewise sent letters into Spain to prevent their being forced to abjure their religion; and as to those who did it with a good will, he affirmed that they had a right to be admitted into the public posts, from which the city of Toledo had unjustly excluded them.

A.D. 1412.

*Persecuted
by pope
John.
XXIII.*

A.D. 1447.

*Protected
by pope Ni-
cholas II.*

^q Stochove Voy. of the Levant, p. 227. Thevenot, ubi sup.
tom. i. ^r Smith Sept. Eccl. Notit. ^s Solom. Ben Virg.

A. D. 1472.

*A new
storm a-
gainst
them.*

*Senate of
Venice's
order in
their fa-
vour.*

*Banished
out of
Trent.*

They had not enjoyed the fruits of that pontiff's patronage many years, before a new storm arose from another quarter. Sextus IV. had been prevailed upon to canonize the little Simon, supposed to have been murdered by the Jews (T), in the city of Trent, ever since the year 1276; but for what reason may be better guessed than told, he had not been fainted till now, near two hundred years after his pretended martyrdom. This canonization at once revived the hatred and zeal of the people against them, not only in that city and bishoprick, but in the territories of the city of Venice. The preachers, under pretence of some special miracle, excited them to such a degree, that they plundered and killed all the Jews that fell in their way; insomuch, that the doge and senate were obliged to interpose their authority to suppress the disturbance. In their order to the magistrates of Padua, they commanded them to be treated like their other subjects, and to prevent their being ill used by the populace, because the rumour spread at Trent appeared to them to be false, and artfully invented, for some ends which the senate did not care to dive into^t. However, this injunction did not hinder the less equitable magistrates of Trent from banishing them, though some time after they obtained leave to tarry there three days, because they drove a considerable commerce in that city. We learn since, that those three days were shortened into three hours, on account of their so strenuously defending the city of Buda against the Christians in the last war with the Turks.

A. D. 1510.

*Some come
to Naples,
and are
persecuted.*

Pope Alexander VI. not only received all such as the kings of Spain and Portugal had banished, but observing that those that came to Rome met but with a sorry recep-

^t See the order of the doge Moceningo, dated April 22, Indiction viii. an. 1475. ap. Cadoso's Las Excellencias, p. 27. Misson's Journey into Italy.

(T) The Jews are accused of having murdered that youth, who was a tradesman's son, in a most cruel manner. They shew you still in that city a knife, a pair of pincers, and four large needles, with which they had let out his blood, and

two silver tumblers, out of which they had drank it. The whole story of that butchery is painted at full length in one of the churches of that city, in a chapel dedicated to the little saint (1).

(1) Misson, ubi supra. Basnag. ubi supra.

tion from their unnatural brethren there, he sent express orders to the rest to alter their conduct towards them, and to supply those poor refugees with means to settle themselves in his dominions, and threatened to banish them if they did not comply. To those that staid in his territories he gave the same privileges as the ancient Jews had enjoyed, and endeavoured to procure the same for the rest from the other states of Italy, which soon brought vast numbers thither (U). Another part went and settled in the kingdom of Naples, where they met with such severe usage from the inquisitors, that the people mutinied, and the viceroy resolved to banish them all out of that kingdom, that he might be at once rid both of them and of the plague of those inquisitors. Charles V. soon after authorized his viceroy's conduct, by refusing to grant them any toleration either in that kingdom or in Sicily. And, indeed, his whole behaviour towards them shows that he really hated them, on account of their impostures (W). This aversion did not however discourage one

A.D. 1534.

Hated by
Charles V.

"Dacherii Specil. tom. ix. p. 167.

(U) Among those whom that pontiff's kindness had invited to Rome, was the learned R. Jochanan, a German, who had been lately settled at Constantinople, and became afterwards the master of the famed Picus of Mirandula, a prince who had already betrayed an extraordinary fondness for the cabalistical writings, and was so confirmed in it by that Jew, that he is reported to have declared, that those who dived into them, dived in the true head-spring; whereas those rivulets that had flowed thence into Greece, were no better than corrupt and stagnated waters (2).

(W) One of them had, it seems, been so impudent before him, as to affirm himself to be the Messiah; and Charles being convinced that he was a

cheat, had caused him to be burnt alive, ann. 1534. This did not deter two others from attempting the like imposture; only they acted their parts with more caution. One was originally a Jew, but had been brought up a Christian, and had already got some small employment at the court of Portugal, when the other named David Lemelein went thither from Rome, and became his associate. David gave himself out to be the chief of the army of Israel. He persuaded the young convert to return to his Judaism, and gave him the name of Solomon Malcho.

He set himself immediately upon studying the rabbinic writings; in which he made so swift a progress, that the Italic Jews affirmed that some

(2) Ap. Manasse, de Fragilit. præfat.

one Ricci, a converted Jew, from dedicating to that monarch his celebrated treatise on what he styled Celestial Agriculture. He was a physician in Germany, and pretended to prove all the mysteries of Christianity from the Cabalah; but whoever reads that work, or his fifty theorems and expositions on the Sephiroths, will own that they did not deserve those encomiums which some learned men have made on them; and that some of them, especially his Dialogue on the Apostle's Creed, are far below the dignity of a sound and reasoning divine ^w.

A.D. 1539.

*Jews
powerful
under Paul
III.*

The Jews were become so powerful under pope Paul III. that cardinal Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras, lost all patience, and bitterly inveighed against his holiness as being hinder to them than to the Christians, who lived amongst them as sheep among wolves. His letter, which was written to cardinal Farnese ^x, is full of the severest reflections against that pontiff and his partial fondness for those enemies of Christ; which was so notorious, he said, that none could be raised to either civil or ecclesiastical dignities but through their favour and interest. This partiality he imputed to the great profit they helped to bring into his finances and treasury.

A.D. 1554.

Pope Julius III. being of opinion that all the allegorical interpretations of the Gemarrah were dangerous ^y, caused

^w Basnag. ubi supra, cap. 31. sect. 7. & seq.
xii. epist. 5 & 6.

^x Sadolet, lib.
^y Bullar. tom. i. Const. Paul IV. p. 19, & 24.

angel dictated his sermons. Not content with preaching, he compiled several curious treatises, which still added to his fame. All this while David distinguished himself by his long fasting, being sometimes six whole days without taking any sustenance; insomuch, that those who were witnesses of it, looked upon him as something more than human. Neither he nor Malcho, however, had dared to assume the title of Messiah, but contented themselves with that of his forerunner. At length Malcho was imprudent enough to

desire an audience of Charles V. then at Mantua, which he readily granted; but as soon as he had got out of his presence, that prince caused him to be arrested, and burnt alive; and David Lemelein was sent prisoner into Spain, where he died a few days after his confinement. Yet such was the stupidity of the Italian Jews, that they would not believe for a good while but that he was still alive there, and that he came constantly once a week to pay a private visit to his wife, who was still in Italy (2).

(2) Imbonat, Bibliot. Rabb. tom. v. Gantz Tzemach sub an. 293.

the Talmud to be burnt; so that, according to the Jewish writers, all the Gemarrahs in Italy were destroyed^z. It was under the same pontif that one Joseph Tzarphati, a celebrated rabbi, after having taught a considerable time at Rome, embraced Christianity. In honour of that pope he took the surname De Monte, and proved by the help of the Gemarrah, that this pope was mentioned in the sacred text: but of all the learned Jews that flourished at Rome about this time, Elias Levita, author of several excellent treatises, deserves the first rank. Some make him a native of Padua, and say that his relations were still settled at Rome, particularly Abraham Aschenazi, chief of that family, and one of the judges of the synagogue^a; not considering that the word Aschenazi is the appellative which all the German Jews take, from Ashkenaz, the son of Gomer, whom they suppose to have peopled Germany. He is accordingly affirmed by others, with more probability, to have been born at the small town of Eysch near Nuremberg^b. Some have likewise imagined that he turned Christian, because he was very conversant among them; but that is a mistake, for he died a Jew; and in one of his works gives God thanks that he was born a Hebrew. However, he was very moderate (X), and free from that rancour

*Talmud
burnt.*

A.D. 1582.

*Elias Le-
vita, his
extract.*

*Learned
works, &c.*

and

^z Gantz Tzemach, p. 153.
135.

^a Bartoloc, ubi supra, tom. i. p.

^b Genebr. Buxtorf. Wolf, Bib. Rab. Num. 249. p. 153.

(X) In his book **בְּחֹר**, *Bachur*, or *the Chosen*, he owns that the narrowness of his circumstances had obliged him to teach the Hebrew tongue, but at the same time declares, that he never explained or betrayed any of the mysteries of the Jewish faith, no, not even the first verse of Genesis.

He was reduced to such extreme poverty by the plundering of Rome by the high constable of Bourbon, that, to use his own words, he had neither bread to eat, fire to warm himself, nor cloaths to cover his nakedness. This obliged him to retire to Ve-

nice, and thence into Germany, to seek his bread; but being by this time very old, and unable to bear the coldness of that country, he was forced to cross the Alps once more, and died in the eightieth year of his age (3).

His chief works are these:

An Exposition of Kimchi's Grammar. His own grammar, or *Bachur*, divided into four parts or treatises. His Treatise on Composition, another grammatical book. His *Sepher Zichronoth*, or Book of Remembrances; or a Collection of Massoretic observations, from ancient authors.

(3) Vide *Bashag*. ubi supra. *Bartoloc*. Wolf, ubi supra.

His

Deborah.

and gall against the Christians that one meets with in the writings of those of his nation. There flourished likewise at Rome a celebrated Jewish poetess, named Deborah, who began to make herself famous by her poetic and other works, about the year 1560, and lived to the beginning of the 17th century^c. She was wife to Joseph Ascarel, a learned rabbi, commonly known by the name of Ascarellus Romanus.

A.D. 1555.

*Paul IV's
two edicts
against
them.*

The Jews fared much worse under Paul IV. who really hated them, and from the beginning of his pontificate issued out two severe bulls against them; by the first of which every synagogue within his dominions was obliged to pay ten crowns per ann. for the instruction of the catechumens who were willing to embrace Christianity; and by the second, the Jewish men were enjoined to wear yellow hats, and the women yellow hoods, to live separate from the Christians, and to have their quarter shut up every night. They were moreover deprived of all society, places, merchandize, or commerce with the Christians, except that of cloth-brokage. They were limited to one synagogue in every city, and ordered to sell all their lands in six months; a circumstance which so lowered the price of them, that they did not get the fifth part of their value, which yet amounted to five hundred thousand crowns^d. He issued likewise an ordinance against their books; not indeed like that of his predecessor Julius III. who caused them all to be burnt in the lump; whereas Paul distinguished between those that contained blasphemies against Christ, and those which only taught or expounded the Jewish religion; the latter of which were tolerated, and the former flung into the flames (Y).

The

^c Genebr. Buxtorf, Wolf, Bibl. Rab. No. 465. p. 287. ^d Bas-

nag. ubi supra, sect. 17, & seq.

His Tob Taham, (Ps. cxix. 66.) or Treatise on Hebrew Accents. His Massoreh Hammaforeth, or Critical Art on the Hebrew Text. His Meturgaman, or Chaldaic, Targumic, and Rabbinic Lexicon, His Pirke Eliahu, or Grammatic Rules in Verse. His Shibre Luchoth, or Breaking of the Tables, a grammatic

treatise on true reading, &c. His Thisby, or Dictionary.

(Y) They were likely to have fared much worse, on an information of eighty-nine women converts from Judaism, who pretended to be possessed; and, upon being exorcised, answered, that the Jews had sent those devils into them out of spite and revenge. The pope,

The cardinal Charles de Boromeo, bishop of Milan, and since canonized, not only enacted several canons against them in the first council he held in that metropolis, much of the same kind with those of Paul IV. above mentioned, but desired all the Christian princes to do the same, and all this in order to promote as much as possible their conversion. But that edict shews at the same time that they were become so numerous and powerful, that there was some reason to fear them, not only at Milan, but in other places of Italy, unless they were confined to their own separate quarters, and interdicted as much as possible all kind of converse and dealings with the Christians.

A.D. 1565.

Council of Milan's acts against them.

Pope Pius V. was still more severe. He not only laid them under the same harsh restrictions, but charged them in his bull with treachery and falshood, with encouraging theft, lewdness, and other vices; with dealing in magic, sorcery, and fortune-telling; and with every thing that could render them odious to the Christians; on which account they were ordered to be banished out of all places of his dominions, excepting the cities of Rome and Ancona. Sextus V. acted more frankly towards them, and fairly owned, that the profit he reaped from them was the chief motive of his tolerating them. A certain rabbi, named Meir, or Magin, of French extract, who had resided some time at Venice, came about this time to Rome, and being a man of learning and address, dedicated a book

A.D. 1569.

Pius V's edict against them.

A.D. 1587.

Sextus V's grant.

[^c De Judæis Conc. tom. xv. p. 333. ap. eund.

pope, who hated them, and was no great divine, intended on this evidence to banish them all, when a Jesuit diverted him from his design, by representing to him the absurdity of the accusation, and the necessity of making a stricter enquiry into it. The pretended demoniacs were accordingly ordered to be examined by scourging; and upon receiving the first strokes, confessed that they had been drawn into this imposture by some courtiers, who hoped to enrich themselves by the spoils of the

Jews. Those courtiers were immediately put to death; and the pontiff cried out, "I might have been damned for unjustly putting the Jews to death, had not my good Jesuit prevented it. I will pray God to convert them; but whilst I live, will I never hate or molest them as I have done." This story we have from an author who lived pretty near this time, and who tells us, he had it from his own brother, who was chaplain to cardinal Granville. (1).

(1) Lewis Guion Divers. Leçons, tom. ii. liv. iii. chap. 9.

to him, with some verses in his commendation; and presently after petitioned him for the sole privilege of settling there a silk manufacture, pretending that he had an excellent secret for multiplying of silk-worms. Sextus not only granted his request, but revoked all bulls and edicts of his predecessors to the contrary, though confirmed by oath, or backed with sentence of excommunication^f. His view was to enrich himself by laying a heavy tax on every pound of silk; though his granting the monopoly to him could not but prove prejudicial to all that dealt in that commodity.

A.D. 1593. Clement VIII. confirmed the bull of Pius V. against them, by which they were banished out of the ecclesiastical states, but added the city of Avignon to those of Rome and Ancona, where they have been settled ever since, with full liberty of religion. He gave much the same reason for his indulgence that his predecessor Pius had assigned, viz. the promoting their conversion. However, they did not make him a suitable acknowledgement for it, but, on the contrary, applied to him that prophecy of Zechariah, "Smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered, a reproach which induced Abraham Echeleus to tax them with horrible ingratitude, for cursing, like Shimei, a prince from whom they had received such singular favours. But it is time to take a view of them in other parts of Italy, where they had likewise very considerable settlements.

A.D. 1511. They are tolerated in all the Venetian territories, and claim in part their protection from that republic, on account of some eminent services they did it in the wars with the Turks, particularly at the siege of Candia. But they are still more numerous and flourishing in its capital, whither the great printer, Daniel Bomberg, came from Antwerp, and began for the first time to print Hebrew Bibles^g; for the correcting of which he kept several, some say above a hundred, learned Jews in pay^h. Bomberg was likewise desirous to print some good Hebrew grammar, and R. Abraham de Balmis was ordered to compile one accordingly; but he dying before it was finished, it was afterwards completed by R. Calonymos, a learned Jew; then at Venice. Besides those two books, he printed a great num-

^f Bullar. tom. ii. Pii V. Constitut. 80. Spond. Ann. sub. ann. 1569. ^g Gantz Tzemach, sub ann. 1271. p. 151. ^h Vide

Maittaire Annal. Typogr. Orlandi. Orig. della Stampa. Palmer's History of Printing, &c.

ber of other works of the Jewish rabbies, for which his memory is still dear to the learned world, especially to the Jews. Here likewise lived R. David, the son of Isaac de Pomis, who, in gratitude to this republic, wrote a book to prove that its laws were of divine original, and that God had promised by his prophet to preserve so holy a commonwealth. This learned rabbi boasted himself to be descended from some of those Jewish families, whom Titus had transported from Jerusalem to Rome; and mentions two of his ancestors; viz. Isaac Rich, and Eliah Hakko-desh, or the Saint, over the tombs of which two miraculous fires had been observed to shine during the space of seven nights. David must have been a prodigy of learning even from his infancy, if, as Bartolocci asserts², he wrote his *Tzemach David*, at the age of seven years. But this is a mistake of that author; and he only compiled it at his leisure, from a MS. dictionary in Hebrew, written by one of his ancestors, about the beginning of the twelfth century, which he enriched with every thing valuable in those of rabbi Nathan, Elias Levita, and D. Kimchi; so that it hath all the Hebrew words, and all the rabbinic terms, in an alphabetical order, together with Latin and Italian explanations of them.

R. David
de Pomis.

His *Tze-
mach Da-
vid*.

Here flourished likewise R. Shimsha, since named Simeon Luzati, who published his *Socrates*, in which he shews that the greatest geniuses are weak, and apt to err; when they are not guided by revelation. He published likewise another treatise on the present state of his nation, of R. Samuel Nachmiah, a native of Theffalonica, also settled in this metropolis; and, with his son David, and some of his family, abjured Judaism, and took the name of Morosini. Samuel, to shew the sincerity of his conversion, wrote the book called *Derek Emunah*, or, *The Way to the Faith*, in Italian; wherein he shews the uselessness of the Jewish ceremonies; that the six hundred and thirteen precepts taken from the law, are observed by no Jew, and explodes all the sects and superstitions of that people. He retired to Rome, where he died in a good old age, an. 1687^a. R. Mordecai Korkos, who taught at Venice, and was a native of it, performed a task no less bold and odious to those of his nation, in writing a treatise against the *Cabalalah*, and even against the Ten Sephiroth, the most sublime part of it, which shews his excellent taste for true sound divinity, as well as his courage in exposing himself to the

A.D. 1613.

R. Shimsha.

A.D. 1649.

Samuel
Nachmiah.

Mordecai
Korkos's
book against
the *Cabalalah*.

Bartol. ubi supra, tom. ii. p. 40.

^a Ibid. tom. iv. p. 404.

A.D. 1674. hatred, resentment, and anathema of the cabalistic tribe. For so high is their esteem of that science, that they look upon every such attempt, as levelled against the fundamentals of religion; for which reason their doctors would not suffer it to be printed.

A.D. 1490. & seq. Much about the time that Bomberg set up his printing-house at Venice, some Jews, from Spire in Germany, were employed in the same manner at Soncino, a small town in the duchy of Milan, near the river Oglio, where they began to print Hebrew books, about the end of the fifteenth century; by which means many considerable manuscripts were preserved, which had lain so long buried in the dust, that they were scarcely legible. These printers exchanged the name of their family for that of the town of Soncino, and became celebrated under the name of Soncinates; and as they were the first that did their nation so great a service, they became very rich and famous. They spread themselves from that into other parts of Italy, and have had some learned men among them; particularly R. Asher, who was a native of that place, and descended from that family^b. **Jacob Tzephalon.** R. Jacob Tzephalon, born at Rome, an. 1630, where he had taken his degree of doctor in physic, taught at Ferrara, and became one of the principal rabbies of the last century. The nearness of that city to Venice gave him an opportunity of printing several learned performances.

R. Gedaliah. The Jews had likewise a synagogue at Imola, where the celebrated R. Gedaliah, of Portuguese extract, was born, and wrote afterwards his genealogical work, stiled by him Shalsheleth Hakkabalah, or the Chain of the Cabalah, which he wrote an. 1539, and is the only work of his that hath been printed, though he wrote above twenty more on other subjects. Notwithstanding that work is very erroneous, both in its chronology and facts, yet it is owned by Bartolocci, and others, to have been of great use to them; and is more especially so to those who are fond of the chain of oral tradition, and of the personal succession of its doctors.

R. Samuel Modena. The synagogue of Modena produced several learned men, particularly R. Samuel, who published his judgments of Samuel, an. 1550; a collection of Talmudic and Rabbinic decisions; to which he hath added some of his own, which are much esteemed. That of Padua had also a good number of great rabbies; and there the Jews re-

^b Maittaire, Orlandi, Palmer, Chevillier, & al.

ceived the title of Doctors of Physic, authorising them to practise medicine in all the dominions of the republic of Venice. They have there three synagogues, and about eight hundred Jews, in a very handsome Ghetto, or *quarter*, with three gates, which are shut up every night. In this synagogue flourished the great R. Meir, who was chief of it. R. Joseph de Padua, so called from that city, his native place; R. Isaac Phea, author of the *Way to Faith*, a treatise which gained him great reputation; R. Menahem Rabba, whose sermons on the four seasons of the year have been since printed by his son: he was still alive in the beginning of the last century.

A.D. 1553.
At Padua,
R. Meir.
A.D. 1560.

The synagogue and academy of Mantua have been long since famed: but a dissension having been unhappily raised between R. Messer Leone de Mantua and R. Koloa, the two chiefs, towards the end of the fifteenth century, through their mutual ambition and jealousy, the Mantuan Jews divided themselves, and called the Christians to their help; and the dispute ran so high, that they took up arms one party against the other. Lewis de Gonzaga, then marquis of Mantua, strove in vain to pacify them; and was at length forced to take the most effectual means of suppressing the uproar, by banishing those two chiefs by whom it had been occasioned. After which example, both synagogue and academy resumed their ancient tranquillity, and were governed by several eminent chiefs and learned doctors, particularly by Mose Vecchio, or Moses the Elder, who gained a great reputation by his corrections on *Alphez*, and his commentators. The small city of Pesaro, in the duchy of Urbino, had likewise a synagogue of the Jews; till that duchy falling into the pope's hands, they were obliged to leave it, by the pope's edict lately mentioned (Z). They have, generally speaking, upheld themselves

A.D. 1460.
A dissension
at Mantua.

A.D. 1580.
Moses Vecchio.

c. Bartoloc. ubi supra, tom. i. p. 722, & seq. Wolf, ubi supra, N. 451. p. 277, & seq.

(Z) Pesaro was the native place of R. Jechiel, who took his surname from it. He went thence to Florence; where having heard for some time the sermons of an inquisitor, he went thence to Rome, to abjure Judaism. Pope Gregory XIII. assisted at the numerous assembly, where he made his speech of recantation; and, at his coming down from the chair, received him with these words, "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord." He was baptized by him some days after, and became a preacher; and some of the Italian

selves in most cities of Italy; and have had many learned rabbies during the foregoing century; the most celebrated of whom were those that follow:

*Leo de
Modena's
works.*

R. Jehudah Arie, more commonly known by the name of Leo de Modena, the place of his nativity, as that of Leo (*Lion*) answered to his Hebrew name Arie. He was a learned man, though a professed enemy to the Christians, against whom he hath forged many dishonourable anagrams, and numerical devices and puns, not worthy of his learned pen^d. But he hath given the world a treatise of the ceremonies of the Jews, which is highly esteemed by the learned of all nations. His book intitled, *The Mouth of the Lion*, is another useful work, wherein he hath judiciously collected and explained all the words used by the rabbies, which are neither quite Hebrew, nor altogether Chaldee; and hath endeavoured to fix the pronunciation of them so as to be understood by Jews of all nations. He was for a considerable time chief of the synagogue, and reckoned a good poet, both in Hebrew and Italian. He hath written several other treatises, and designed to have translated the Old Testament into Italian; but was forbid to proceed by the inquisitors; instead of which, he wrote his *Lexicon* above mentioned. He died at Venice, in the year 1654, almost eighty years old^e.

His death.

R. Jehudah Azael was no less famous for his sermons preached at Ferrara in the last century; insomuch that the Christians went also to hear him. He was the author of a cabalistical treatise, intitled, *The Thrones of the House of David*; and died at Ferrara, an. 1677^f. About the same time flourished R. Jehoshua Menahem at Rome, where he was chief of the academy; and another famed doctor named Jacob Dattillo Delli Piatelli, esteemed one of the best masters to breed up their youth in learning. Here was also, about the middle of the last century, one Nathaniel Tribotti, who wrote a treatise on women's bathing, wherein he advanced some propositions which raised him up a number of antagonists. The synagogue and academy of that city were, at length, obliged to interpose their authority, to prevent the multiplication of books on that

A.D. 1644.

*Tribotti up-
held by the
synagogues.*

^d De his vide Basnag. ubi supra, cap. 32. sect. 15. ^e Basnag. lib. ix. cap. 32. sect. 15, & seq. Wolf, Bibl. Hæbr. N. 692. p. 412, & seq. ^f Wolf, Bibl. Hæbr. N. 766. p. 452.

Italian sermons which had he Florence, were printed, and preached against the Jews at 1585 (1).

(1) Bartoloc. ex Schedis Magliakek, Bibl. Rabb. tom. iv. p. 564. subject,

subject, by declaring for Tribotti, and obliging the opposing doctors to submit to their decision ^f.

The Jews at Rome are reckoned to amount to between twelve and fifteen thousand. They have nine synagogues, and an academy, which they stile Talmud Torah, the study of the law, under the direction of learned professors, among whom was the famous Joseph Kimchi, who lived about the latter end of the last century. They seem to have a kind of superiority over the rest of those in Italy; for they consult them in doubtful cases, and pay a singular regard to their decisions. They are governed in this city by their triumvirs, whom they stile Memmonim, or ^{their go-}governors, ^{vernment,} who decide all quarrels and disputes between private men, and take care of the privileges granted to them by the popes. They are changed every year, lest they should abuse their authority; and live in so great friendship with the Christians, that they made no scruple to go into their synagogues in such numbers, that pope Innocent XI. was ^{Christians} obliged to threaten them with excommunication, and to ^{forbid their} lay a fine of twenty crowns on every person who entered ^{synagogues.} any of their places of worship ^g.

Pope Innocent XI. gave them several marks of his favour; particularly when the Venetian general Morosini, after his successful war in the Morea, brought back a good number of Jewish and Christian captives, and gave liberty to the latter, but would have kept the former under slavery: that pontiff, being applied to by their brethren, who are there very numerous, ordered a congregation to take cognizance of their case, and censured the conduct of the Venetians; whereupon the republic set them at liberty, without suffering the pope's ministers to intermeddle farther in that matter ^h. The same pontiff strove much to promote their conversion. He built seminaries for the maintenance of these new converts, hospitals for their sick, and caused sermons to be preached, to prove that the Messiah was come, and that Jesus Christ was that Messiah; but little benefit was reaped from these endeavours, because the Jews either absented themselves from these discourses, or only came to ridicule them, and sometimes committed shameful indecencies in the churches, where they were preached. As a farther encouragement to new converts, some cardinal, or great person, was commonly their godfather, and made them some handsome present after bap-

A D. 1685.

Innocent XI. a friend to the Jews.

Means to promote their conversion,

^f Wolf. Bibl. Hæbr. N. 766. p. 452. ^g Id. ibid. N. 1742. p. 928. ^h La Rocque's Memoirs de l'Eglise, lib. v. p. 605. Naudeana, p. 54

*prove inf-
festual.*

tism; they were dressed in white sattin, and carried about the city in a fine coach during a fortnight, to be seen and congratulated by the spectators: and, to prevent their apostatizing, all that were found guilty of it were condemned to the flames. But, after all these pains and cost, one sees plainly enough, that the far greater part still remain in their unbelief; and as for those few converts they make, cardinal Barberini, who had bestowed great pains and sums towards that work, was forced to own, a little before his death, that such conversions were only feigned and insignificant¹.

*Jews in
Piedmont.*

The Jews have been settled a long time at Turin, the capital of Piedmont or Pignerot, and some other places of that principality, by an edict or grant, which secures to them a plenary liberty of conscience; and, though they now and then meet with some disaster from the zealous populace, yet they live more quietly there than in other places of Italy. During the three last centuries, the Jews of

*Jews in
Germany,
Poland, &c.*

Germany and the more northern regions were very numerous, though much poorer than those of Italy, as well as worse treated by the priests and populace. The fifteenth

A.D. 1401.

Oppressed.

century opened upon them with a very melancholy prospect. Great numbers had settled in Thuringia and Misnia, where the landgraves, whether through avarice or need, made them pay dear for the quiet and liberty they enjoyed, and were still exacting vast sums from them. Particularly at the commencement of this century, such a large contribution was imposed on them as they refused to pay; upon which they were all arrested and imprisoned, and were not discharged till they had complied^k. They

A.D. 1427.

*Learned
men.*

had however some learned men among them; particularly the famed R. Jaacob Movilin, no less eminent for the number of his disciples than for his judicious answers which he wrote to the questions that had been proposed to him^l. About this time the title of doctor came to be in vogue among the German rabbies; and Movilin was one of the first who took it upon himself, instead of the old one of rabbi, which was become despicable.

*Council of
Basil's de-
cree a-
gainst them.*

They received soon after a new mortification from the council of Basil; which, finding them very numerous in that city and elsewhere, issued out a decree, by which all the prelates, where ever any Jews were, should be obliged

¹ Wagenfeil's Tela Ignea, Præfat. ^k Basnag. ubi supra. cap. 32. seq. 25. & seq. Idem ibid. cap. 33. seq. 1. ^l Ganuz Tizemach, p. 147.

to have sermons preached against them, and oblige them to assist at them, under severe penalties. They were likewise excluded from having any commerce with Christians; from being used for servants, nurses, farmers, or even physicians; and from having any houses near the churches, or towards the centre of cities. They were farther obliged to wear a different habit, by way of distinction; and condemned to lose whatever sums they lent on church-books, utensils, and ornaments. All this struggle, however, produced little or no change in Germany; except that about twenty years after, Lewis X. duke of Bavaria, banished them out of his dominions, in spite of all remonstrances from them or their friends, as well as against his own interest. He even ordered them to evacuate forty towns, and as many boroughs as they were settled in, at one and the same day and hour; confiscated all their goods; and built gaols, and other public edifices, in the places where they had lived.

A.D. 1434.

A.D. 1454.

*Banished
Bavaria.*

There was a dreadful execution made of thirty of them in Mecklenburgh, who were condemned to the flames, together with a priest, accused of having sold the man host, which they had pierced, and was found bloody. Some women and children being of the number of the condemned, a mother in despair killed two of her daughters with her own hand; and was going to dispatch a third, when she was snatched out of her hands to undergo a severer fate". Two years after, some others were accused at Tirnaw in Hungary, of having drank the blood of a Christian whom they had murdered. The accused were put to the torture, to find out whether the whole nation were not guilty of the crime; if not, perhaps to extort such a confession from them (A). However, those only were

A.D. 1492.

*Burnt at
Mecklen-
burgh.*

A.D. 1494.

"Aventine's Annal. Bojor. lib. vii. p. 513. Status Europ. sub Frederick III. c. 32. ap. Freher's Hist. Germ. tom. vi. p. 79. Naucler. Chronogr. gener. tom. ii. p. 1110.

(A) Nothing more plainly shews the falshood of those accusations, than the reasons which writers assign for their committing such murders. We are told, 1. That human blood hath a peculiar virtue for healing and consolidating the scar of circumcision. 2. That the Jews have a fluor sanguinis, some say every Friday, others, every moon, which was inflicted on them, on account of their shedding the blood of Christ; and that a dose of it gives those in this way great relief. 3. That it is likewise of singular efficacy to excite love,

A.D. 1499.

*Banished
out of Nu-
remberg,*

were punished who had a hand in it ^z. About five years after, those of Nuremberg, who were both numerous and wealthy, were all banished out of that city; and went and settled in a small town in the neighbourhood of it, where they built a synagogue. The citizens laid several crimes to their charge, in order to palliate their severity to them; but the true motive seems to have been their wealth, which made them insolent, their great number, which made them appear dangerous, and their usuries, which helped to debauch their youth, and rendered them at length universally odious.

*and Co-
logne.*

A.D. 1509.

*Victor à
Carbe's
books a-
gainst the
Jews.*

Not long after the bishop of Cologne followed the example, and banished them out of his diocese; on which account, one Victor à Carbe, who renounced Judaism to become a priest, wrote some books against them, wherein he highly complimented that prelate, for having thus happily plucked up the tares from among the wheat in the Lord's field, and cleared his bishopric from them. He affirmed at the same time, that Christians ought never to enter into disputes with the Jews, who are used to them from their infancy, but that they must be overcome by violence, or, as he words it, by the quiver and arrows (B).

A.D. 1509.

*Pfeffer
Corn's ad-
vice a-
gainst the
Jews.*

Some years after this transaction, another proselyte, named Pfeffer Corn, kindled a war among the learned of this century, by endeavouring to persuade the emperor Maximilian, that all the Jewish books ought to be burned; because they were full of fables, lies, and blasphemies, against Christ. He had written some years before, a book on the manner in which the Jews celebrated the

^z See Wolf, ubi supra, N. 1145. p. 641.

love, and promote conception; and, 4, That they are bound by a vow, in all parts of the world, to sacrifice a Christian, to wipe off the infamy they are under: which sacrifice they call, *Joel*, or, *Coming from God*; or, perhaps, rather *Goel*, *Redeemer*, in derision of Christ the Redeemer of the world (1).

(B) About the same time

flourished, in the neighbourhood of that city, the great R. Simeon, an eloquent preacher, and author of the famed book *Jalkut* (Pouch); which is a judicious collection of such interpretations of the ancient Jewish doctors on the sacred books, as were the best and easiest to be understood.

(1) Spondan. Annal. sub A. D. 1404. N. 10. p. 217. Basnag, ubi sup^a 2, § 7.

Passover, wherein he charged them with heresy, declaring them apostates from the Old, and enemies to the New Testament. In another book, intitled, *The Enemy of the Jews*, he discovered all their usuries and imprecations against the Christians; by which means he had drawn so many divines to his opinion, that Maximilian was almost inclined to grant his petition. However, being willing to hear both sides, the famed Campnion, or Reuchlinus, a man well versed in all the Jewish and other learning, and who had been employed in several important matters, opposed it; and alleged, that such only ought to be burnt, as contained any blasphemies against Christ. But he declared against destroying those which only treated of the tenets, morals, and rites of the Jews. He likewise rightly observed the impossibility there was of suppressing books, by an imperial decree, which were dispersed all over the world, and which might be easily reprinted in any other part.

Reuchlinus pleads against burning their books.

The prosecutions which this equitable judgment drew upon that great man, and the warm contests of the divines on that head, being foreign to the subject of this chapter, may be seen in the history of those times. It will be sufficient to say, that the matter was brought by an appeal to Rome, whither Hochstrate, one of his most violent enemies, hastened, with recommendations from several princes to bias, with money to bribe, and with threatenings to intimidate, that court; all which could neither hinder Reuchlin from being absolved, nor himself from being condemned; and all he could obtain was a supersedeas from the pope, just as judgment was going to be pronounced against him. Reuchlinus returned again victorious; but this success did not prevent the opposite party from being very vexatious to him; insomuch that he said, he did not doubt but Martin Luther, who began then to make some figure in Germany, would cut them out so much work, that they should be glad to let him end his days in peace: and it happened so accordingly; for the Jewish books were not only spared, but began to be read, and confuted with better success; so that it is hard to decide, whether the Jews have gained or lost by the reformation that ensued, as it introduced the study of their books, and hath enabled Christians to foil them at their own weapons. However, the Jews have reaped one singular benefit from the reformation, for it hath, in a great measure, suppressed those prosecutions usually raised against them, on account of crucifying Christian children,

Prosecuted and acquitted.

Jews since the reformation.

stealing and piercing of consecrated wafers, upon the authority of pretended miracles, which have since lost all their credit.

*Become
more wary
and learn-
ed.*

On the other hand, the Jews, being more closely pressed by the Christians, were obliged to exert themselves in extraordinary efforts for their own defence; and it must be owned, that they have produced some learned champions, at the head of whom we may reckon R. Isaac Ben Abraham, supposed to be by nation a Polander; but he tells us himself, that he had spent most of his time in the courts of Germany, and had been in great credit with several princes. He it was that wrote a most virulent and dangerous book (C) against the Christian religion, wherein he examines the whole Gospel, endeavours to explode all the proofs of it; raises all the difficulties he can against it; and presses them with all possible vigour and bitterness: with the same heat, he confutes the objections of Christians against the Jews. This book he composed against the disciples of Luther, with whom he had maintained frequent conferences and disputes; and it was not long before that piece was followed by another equally, if not more, virulent; intitled,

The Nitzachon, or victories, commonly ascribed to R. Jom Tob Lipman, published and answered by Mr. Wagenfeil, and by Sebastian Munster, in his Hebrew version of St. Matthew's Gospel.

In the mean time these disputes between the Jews and Christians seem to have produced some new sects among the latter, which were called in contempt Judaizers, or half Jews. Of that sort was Seidelius, who maintained, that the Messiah regarded only the Jews, to whom he had been promised in the same manner as the land of Canaan; and that the heathen had no more share in the promise of the former than of the latter. He further affirmed, that

(C) This book, which the author intitles *חזק אמנה*; Chafuk Emunah, and the Latin translator, Munimen fidei, shews the author to have lived about the beginning of the seventeenth century. Its editor Joseph, the son of Mordecai, published it, an. 1616, after it had remained a long while in manuscript, and was become very scarce. The Portuguese

Jews did indeed get it translated into Spanish, and dispersed it about in all the neighbouring kingdoms; and it was also in high esteem among the African Jews; and it is from thence that the learned Wagenfeil brought it into Germany; and, having translated it into Latin, inserted it into his *Tela Ignea Satanæ*.

the whole of religion was contained in the decalogue, and written in the hearts of men^a. He was a native of Silesia, and there he divulged his notions, but gained few disciples. Another, named Francis David, was called half a Jew, because he maintained it unlawful to pray to Jesus Christ, who had taught us to pray to the Father only; and being now in heaven, could know nothing either of our wants or of our prayers^b. Such was likewise reckoned George De Novara, who was burned at Bolonia, for denying that the Messiah was come; and such were also esteemed some other sectaries, who observed the Jewish sabbath, abstained from blood and things strangled; several of whom also suffered as half Jews, in England and other parts.

About the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Jews of Mersburgh, though they pretended to have been settled there ever since the destruction of Jerusalem, were nevertheless banished out of that city and diocese by the bishop. They found however a safe retreat in other parts: the emperor Ferdinand I. not only protected them, but granted them the privilege of having a chief or prince of the captivity; and ordered, that the chief Rabbi of Worms should have that advantage above any other of his nation. They reckon in the number of them, the famed R. Jakok, a native of that city, and a man of great learning, who left four sons, who were all presidents of academies, princes of the dispersion, and highly admired by their nation^c. One of them taught chiefly at Friburgh, where they had an academy and synagogue, as well as in other cities of the empire, particularly at Vienna, where they had erected a magnificent building. This century likewise produced a good number of learned doctors, both in Germany and Poland, who enjoyed very great privileges, as well as liberty and quiet, in the latter; inso-much, that at Cracow they had a synagogue, an academy, a house of judgment, and a great assembly. They were likewise dispersed in several other cities of that kingdom, and flourished under the protection of that government: only they were sometimes liable to suffer by popular commotions. Thus, for instance, their houses were one day set all on fire in Posnania, and they durst not attempt to quench it, being afraid of the populace. The people indeed pretend, that a kind of supernatural terror had

A.D. 1559.

Jews banished from Mersburgh.
A.D. 1563.

Protected by Ferdinand.

^a Martin Seidelii, ad Cæt. Cracov. ep. i. p. 306. ^b Franc. David, Defens. inter Oper. Socini. tom. ii. p. 717. Basnag. ubi supra, cap. 34. sect. 11. & seq. ^c Gantz Tzemach, p. 153.

feized on them from above, which would not suffer them so much as to draw water to quench the flames, or to save any thing out of them; so that they were forced to stand still, and see their houses, effects, and even the sacred books, reduced to ashes^d. But, excepting those popular disasters, learning, as well as traffic, flourished among them; and their academies were governed by men of great reputation.

Cardinal Commendon, in his way to Russia, found likewise in the province of Ukraina a great number of Jews, in great credit, who did not enrich themselves, as they do every where else, by usury, but by a fair and honest commerce. They cultivated their lands, and applied themselves to the study of physic and astrology, and others farmed the customs and carriage of merchandize. They are not only exempt from wearing marks of distinction, but are even allowed to wear swords, and to enjoy the same posts and employments as the natives of the country^e.

A.D. 1530.

*An academy
at Prague.*

They had been advantageously settled in Bohemia ever since the tenth century, on account of the great services they had done to the Christians against the banditti. They not only built a noble synagogue, but erected afterwards an academy at Prague, of which R. Falk was chosen chief (D), and enjoyed some singular privileges in that country: but they met likewise there with persecutions and disasters. A general conflagration having destroyed some part of that kingdom, they were accused, and found guilty of having caused it; so that those that escaped the flames, were all banished; ten only excepted, who obtained leave to continue at Prague. Ferdinand was not able to appease the tumultuous Bohemians, by any other means, than by their death or banishment, till the incendiaries were discovered towards the latter end of the year, when they were recalled, and settled there again^f.

Banished.

Recalled.

A.D. 1558.

*A new
storm.*

It was not long before another storm was raised against them, on a suspicion that they had prayed at Prague against the Christians; whereupon all their books were immediately seized, and sent to Vienna. The loss of them

^d Gantz Tzemach, p. 157.

^e Basnag. ubi supra, sect. 18.

^f Gantz, ubi supra, p. 151, & seq.

(D) This rabbi took it into his head to introduce the Christian manner of disputing in his school; but soon found that it disgusted all their wise

men, and that the Jewish theology is too mystical and abstruse to bear being canvassed by arguments and regular syllogisms.

was very afflicting, not only on account of their value, but because the Jews were forced to officiate in the synagogue without them, and that by dint of memory. They were however so soon restored to them, that it looked as if they had been taken away with no other view but to force them to redeem them. But even then their happiness proved of short duration, since the emperor banished them all but ten families out of Bohemia, before that year was out. What his reasons were we cannot explain; *Banished, and settled afresh.* but they were permitted at the same time to go and settle in any part of his other dominions; and it was not long before they were resettled in that kingdom (E).

Those in Hungary were greatly diminished, towards the A.D. 1595. end of the sixteenth century, when the emperor Rodolphus *Oppressed in Hungary.*

§ Rodolph. Imp. Decret. Posan. an. 1578. art. ii. apud Verboz Corp. per Hungar. tom. i. p. 52.

(E) Here were several doctors that maintained the glory of their nation, among whom was the famed Isaac Meheling, who taught in that academy about the end of the sixteenth century, and, at his death, left the chair to his son Charan. Here likewise flourished the celebrated Liwa Bitzleer, who conversed with the emperor Rodolphus; and of whom the Jews say, that all Israel drank of his waters, and walked by his light. He founded the academy called Klaufe, anno 1592, which became so famous in his time, that it drew a vast concourse of disciples to him. He was chosen at last superintendent of all the synagogues in Poland.

Jehudah Betzaleel, or Leo Pragenfis, was chief of the Moravian academies, and judge of the nation in that country. He left several learned works behind, among which is that, intitled, The Redemption and Eternity of Israel, wherein he

assures the Jews of the certainty of the Messiah's coming, and of his settling them in a perpetual state of prosperity.

Mordechai Japhe, or *the Fair*, was likewise a native of Prague, and gained no small reputation among those of his nation for his great learning. He wrote several learned volumes; the principal, that which he intituled, The Royal Robe, or Apparel; alluding, according to the rabbinic custom, to his namesake Mordechai, and the royal dress which king Ahafuerus caused him to be clothed with.

The last we shall mention here is the Jewish historian David Gantz, so often quoted in this chapter, who was a native of that city, and there composed his Tzemach David, which is a chronology from the creation to the year 1492 of the Christian æra. He gave it that title, either as it was his first work, or to put his suffering

A.D. 1574.

*Persecuted
in Mora-
via.**Plundered
in Franco-
nia.*

A.D. 1588.

At Bonn.

A.D. 1592.

*Settled in
Brunswick.*

plus laid a double tax on them, in order to oblige them to quit that country the quicker. He, at length, compelled them to pay a monthly fine of fifty denarii per head, which, it was thought, must have ruined them quite; nevertheless, a good number of them made shift to maintain themselves in it, though a much greater was forced to seek their fortune elsewhere. The Moravian synagogues suffered a very severe persecution in the year 1574, a great number of Jews being burnt, and otherwise dispatched, before the emperor could be applied to in their behalf, who was, at length, moved with pity towards them, and put an end to those massacres. Those in Franconia were accused of having set fire to some houses in the town of Bamberg; for which they were plundered of all their effects, in order to make good that loss, but had their lives spared. They were treated in the same manner at Bonn on the Rhine, when that town was taken and plundered by the Dutch general Schenk; but were made amends for their loss, towards the close of the sixteenth century, when Henry, then duke of Brunswick, permitted them to settle in his dominions. Till this time the princes of that illustrious house had been possessed with a notion, that the tolerating of them would prove detrimental to that state; insomuch that they suffered none of them, not even those that were merchants, to pass through it, and if any were caught, they were plundered with impunity. At length, complaint having been made of it to prince Henry Julius, then duke of Brunswick, he not only granted them liberty of conscience in his territories, but appointed them a place in Lower Saxony, to carry on their commerce: so that there were but few places in Germany where they were not allowed to traffic, towards the latter end of the sixteenth century. The present age, however, seems to be the most happy æra they have yet enjoyed since their dispersion.

*Jews in
Poland,
during the
last century.*

There is hardly any country in Europe, wherein the Jews enjoy greater liberty and privileges than in Poland.

▪ Gantz Tzemach, ubi supra. Basn. ubi supra.

ing nation in mind of the to pray the more fervently
branch, David or Messiah, who for the hastening of his com-
was to redeem them from. ing (5).
thraldom, and to induce them

(5) Bartoloc. ubi supra. Wolf, ubi supra, n. 481. p. 292. Basn. ubi supra. sect. 24.

They

They have their stately synagogues and academies; and their house of judgment, or court of judicature, is endowed with singular authority, since it is allowed to judge of criminal, as well as civil, cases. Poland is looked upon as a nursery of learned rabbies, and the country to which the Jews send all their youths to study the Talmud, and rites of their religion. In speaking of the preceding century, we mentioned some rabbies there who were an honour to their nation: this kingdom hath produced one man who not only renounced Judaism, but wrote and published thirty-seven demonstrations against it. But the condition he then was in, as well as the affected swollen stile in which he wrote, gives us reason to suspect the sincerity of his conversion (F).

A.D. 1656.

R. Solomon converted.

The city of Hamburgh is called the Lesser Jerusalem, on account of the many Jews that live and traffic in it. Their synagogue is indeed at Altena, a little city near it, under the king of Denmark, who protects them likewise at Gluckstadt, but that circumstance doth not hinder Hamburgh from entertaining a vast number of them; some of whom are very rich, and others learned in various sciences, especially physic. They are observed to have been more tractable in that city than elsewhere; for, a great number of them were converted in this century, by one Esdras, or Edzar, who made it his business to instruct and confirm them in the Christian faith. A divine of that city once imagined, that if those instructions were armed with some violence, they would become more effectual. But the senate soon cooled his untimely zeal, which tended only to lessen the number of their citizens, and had already caused some popular commotions.

At Hamburgh.

We have already observed that they were endowed with great privileges at Prague, for their great services at the siege of it, and glory so much in their behaviour on that occasion, that R. Jehudah Leo compiled a history of the transaction, in which he highly extols the fidelity and bravery of his nation; their indefatigable industry in mining and countermining, watching and defending the place; but especially their piety in often assembling in their synagogues, to intercede with Heaven, and to recite a most

Settled in Prague.

Their defence of that city.

(F) His name was Solomon; turning Christian: this circumstance, and his readiness he had been bound for one of his brothers, and clapt into a jail, whence nothing could have redeemed him but his version suspected.

pious

pious litany, composed for that purpose, by R. Simeon, whose head shines with bright lustre. In a word, he seems to ascribe the preservation of that city to their prayers and valour; notwithstanding which, they had the mortification to hear that the enemy, after raising the siege, entered Tabor, and several other cities of Bohemia, and plundered all the Jews. The author concludes with an exhortation to those of his nation, that shall read his history, to shout aloud, "Blessed be our God, who hath wrought all these wonders in our favour." All this merit, however, hath not been capable of creating a tolerable good understanding between the citizens and them: on the contrary, they hate one another, and take all opportunities to shew it; and it must be owned that the Jews have now and then been guilty of such enormous deeds, as must render them not only suspected, but hateful to the Christians.

*Hated by
that city.*

A.D. 1630.
& 1647.

*Stripped of
their pri-
vileges in
Hungary.*

*Form of
their oath.*

They had enjoyed in Hungary the privilege of farming the revenue, till Ferdinand II. took it from them, by an edict dated 1630, notwithstanding which, they found means to preserve the advantages of it, since Ferdinand III. was afterwards obliged to deprive them of it, by a new edict, which condemned those to the loss of their places, who admitted the Jews into any of them; because, says this law, "They have neither conscience nor honesty, and are therefore unworthy to enjoy the privileges of the kingdom of Hungary^b. However, they continue there still, not only under the protection of the Grand Seigneur, in those parts which are under his dominion, but in those of the empireⁱ. In this last, when they go to law against the Christians, there is a form of an oath prescribed to them, which is very singular, and which the reader may see in the margin (G).

Notwith-

^b Ferd. iii. Decret. ii. Posonienf. an. 1647. art. ix. ap. Eund. p. 344. ⁱ Ibid. sub an. 1649. Vide Basnage, cap. 65. sect. 2, & 9.

(G) They are obliged to turn their faces towards the sun; to stand barefoot, their bodies covered with a cloak, and their heads with a Jewish hat; and laying their hand upon a roll or volume of their law, repeat the following words: "I such-a-one, a Jew, do swear by the living God, the almighty God, who hath made the heavens and the earth, and all that is in them, that I am innocent of the crime of which that Christian accuses me. And if I am guilty of it, may the earth open itself and swallow me up, as it did Dathan and Abiram: may the palsy and leprosy, which Elifaa removed from

Notwithstanding this restriction, the Jews made choice of this kingdom, preferably to all other countries, to hold their grand council, anno 1650, in which was to be debated the most important point of their religion; namely, whether the Messiah was come. The Jews being in doubt about the great number of centuries which have elapsed since the time in which they expected him to appear, agreed to call a general assembly of all their rabbies, to clear up that point. Hungary appeared to them a proper place, because the Turkish wars had in a great measure depopulated it; and they made choice of the Plain of Ageda, about thirty leagues from Buda, and the princes then at war readily granted them that liberty. Three hundred of their most learned rabbies, out of different nations, met there accordingly, with a vast multitude of other Jews, who flocked thither from different countries. They all encamped under their tents; and one, larger than all the rest, was reared for the grand council to sit in; and R. Zachariah, of the tribe of Levi, was chosen their president and speaker. He was seated before a large table, with his face towards the eastern door of the pavilion, and all the rest sat round him.

A great assembly of them held in Hungary.

The first day was spent in compliments and mutual congratulations, and in excluding those who could not prove their Jewish origin, the number of whom amounted to about five or six hundred. On the second day the president proposed the question, in words to this effect: "We are here met to examine whether the Messiah is come, or whether we must still wait for his coming?" Some professed themselves inclined to believe he was already come, seeing those great misfortunes and disasters which Providence had continued to send down amongst them, during such a series of centuries, could not be owing to their idolatry; a crime from which their nation had kept them-

The result of it.

from Naaman upon Gehazi, fall upon me: may the falling sickness, the bloody-flux, and gout, seize me in an instant: may a sudden death carry me off: may my body and soul perish: may my good fortune be overturned: may I never get admittance into the bosom of Abraham: may the law given on Mount Sinai blot me out: may all the holy writ contained in the five books of Moses confound me. And, if my present oath is not true and just, may God, by his divine power, blot me out of the book of life (1)."

(1) Verboz. Corp. Jur. Hungar. part. iii. titul. 36. tom. i. p. 139. ap. Basnage, ubi supra, sect. 10.

selves wholly free, ever since their return from the Babylonish captivity: so that all those miseries which they had suffered since their dispersion, must be owing to some other cause. But the majority of votes carried it against them. It was agreed that the Messiah was not yet come, and that his delay was owing to their sins and impenitence.

They next debated in what manner the Messiah was to come; and easily agreed to these three particulars. 1st. That he would appear as a great conqueror, and deliver them from all foreign yoke. 2dly, That he would alter nothing in the Mosaic religion. And 3dly, That he was to be born of a virgin; and that this his miraculous birth was to be a characteristic by which he should be known to those who were strangers to the covenant (H). The congress had lasted six days, when some ecclesiastics, sent thither from Rome, presented themselves before it; and not content to prove to them that Jesus Christ was the promised Messiah, began to extol the worship, ceremonies, and the authority of the church, whose head was the vicar of that divine person. This declaration immediately caused a strange uproar in the council, among which nothing was now to be heard but a tumultuous outcry of "No Christ! no God-man! no intercession of saints! no worship of

(H) They debated, among other points, whether Jesus Christ, who had been crucified, might not be the Messiah; to which the Pharisees, who over-ruled the assembly, answered on the following day, that he could not be that person, because he appeared in a low and despised state; whereas the Messiah was to appear in a glorious and triumphant manner. They likewise objected his being the son of a carpenter, and the aversion he had all along shewn against the law of Moses.

Here a rabbi, named Abraham, who was still unsatisfied with the Pharisaic reasoning, strenuously insisted upon Christ's miracles; and asked them, by what power they

thought he could work them? To this Zebedee, one of the chiefs of that sect, answered, that he wrought them by his magic art. Abraham objected, that no magic art could give sight, hearing, or speech, to those that were born blind, deaf, or dumb: to which the other replied, that those blind, deaf, and dumb, had been so formed in the womb by magic art; and that he that cured them did nothing else but dissolve the charm by the same diabolical power. The Sadducees, though in other things so opposite to them, agreed with them in this; and the more readily, as they denied the resurrection, which Christ had so strenuously defended against them.

images!

images! no prayers to the Virgin!" accompanied with loud clamours, rending of cloaths, stopping of ears, &c. and in this manner they parted for that day. On the next, which was the 8th, they only met to agree upon another council, which should be held three years after in Syria, where, our author tells us, there are still some of the ancient Rechabites. He farther observes, that some of the Jewish doctors owned themselves not a little shaken at what had passed, and expressed a desire to converse with some protestant divines; but that the presence of so many monks, they said, deterred them, and made them fear some tragical conclusion to their assembly ^k.

A new one agreed on.

About ten years after, they were in such high credit in Vienna, that Rabbi Zachariah had obtained leave to build a stately synagogue, and academy, in order to revive learning among them. He had endowed the latter with a sufficient pension for twenty-four doctors, who were to read lectures on the Talmud night and day; so that the school was to be always open, and some doctors teaching in it. The building, however, was scarcely finished, when the emperor banished all the Jews out of that capital, and turned their synagogue into a church ^l. They complain, that the empress superstitiously ascribed her barrenness to their toleration; for which error God punished her soon after; so that she was brought to-bed of a daughter, and died in child-bed. Not long after her death, they were all recalled, and settled in that capital. That monarch did not a little resent the zeal with which those of Buda sustained the siege against him; though in reality they did but their duty in it, seeing they were subjects of the Ottoman empire. However, they are not only tolerated at Vienna, but are admitted to several high posts, and titles of honour; but the people, who envy them the wealth which they acquire under the government, sometimes raise vexatious commotions, in order to strip them of it. They were no less numerous and flourishing in most other large cities of the empire, as well as in the provinces of Servia, Croatia, Moldavia, and Valantina; and though they are banished out of the city of Nuremberg, yet they are settled in most of the neighbouring towns, and have a synagogue at Pfurt, and are even permitted to enter that city under a guide, who stays with them all the time. In the city of Augsborg, they had formerly a synagogue and academy, and their doctors and

A.D. 1660.

High credit at Vienna.

A.D. 1669.

Banished.

A.D. 1673.

Recalled.

A.D. 1705.

Stripped by the populace.

Settled in other parts of the empire.

^k Brett's Narrative of the Proceedings, &c. Phoenix, xv. tom. ii. p. 554. ^l Barrio's Hist. Judaic. Bagnage, ubi supra, sect. 26.

disciples

disciples were maintained by the rich merchants of the place ^m, but have been since banished from it, and must buy the liberty of coming into it at the price of a florin for every hour they stay in it.

The Jews of Ratisbon are accused of having stolen from the Christians there, one of their greatest saints, whom they call Emmeron, and affirm to have come from Poitou, and to have converted the Huns; whereas the former affirm him to have been of their nation, and descended from Amram the father of Moses. It is not easy to decide the controversy; only this may be said in favour of them, that they do not appear so fond of saints as to steal those of the Christians; which is more than these can say for themselves. Those of Worms are also charged, by one who abjured Judaism, with having written the name of God on the top of their synagogue, out of a superstitious notion, that this inscription would effectually preserve it in their possession; insomuch, that they suffered it to be covered with spiders webs, rather than run the risk of defacing it by brushing them off. But the French soon convinced them of the vanity of that notion, when they took that city, and demolished that building to the ground. A late traveller reckons thirty thousand Jews in Francfort ⁿ; yet they are but ill used there, being often plundered, fined, and made to carry water, wherever any fire happens; and the citizens paint them in their houses in all manner of ridiculous forms, on purpose to render them despicable and odious; and yet they seem fond of living, though in extreme poverty and contempt, in all these parts, and some very learned men have been produced among them (I).

Numerous,
and dis-
persed at
Francfort.

We

^m Benjamin de Tudela, Itinerar.

ⁿ Historical Remarks on a Journey into Italy, ap. Basnage, ubi supra, sect. 25.

(I) Among them was the famed cabalist Nathan de Spira, who, about anno 1640, wrote a panegyric on the Holy Land, intitled the Good of the Earth; and another called Megillath Humucoth, or *Volume of the Profundities*; which is a cabalistical comment on some verses in the third chapter of Deuteronomy, wherein he hath discovered sundry deep mysteries, which he there explains,

and removes the difficulties which occur to him.

There flourished another famed one at Cisenstadt, about anno 1682, named Mordechai, who set up at first for a prophet; and finding the people ready to credit him, gave himself out to be the Messiah. Those of Italy wrote letters to invite him thither, where he was accordingly received with great respect; but the rabbi who conducted

We come now to those that are settled in Holland, ^{*Jews in Holland numerous.*} where, if we may believe one of their writers, they enjoy greater liberty and quietness, and are more flourishing and wealthy than in any other part of the world°. They are here of two sorts; those who come from Germany, and those sprung from Portugal and Spain; and are so divided, on account of some difference in their ceremonies, that they heartily hate each other (K). Zeigler was once very ^{*Deceived by R. Zeigler.*} considerable among the former, and came to Amsterdam, on purpose to delude them with the hopes of a Messiah, whom he pretended to have already seen at Strasburgh, and who would appear immediately after their conversion and agreement should be completed, and soon after destroy Antichrist's and the Turkish empire, and extend his own from one end of the world to the other. He was likewise to assemble a general council at Constance, which would last twelve years, and put an end to all their feuds about matters of religion. This Messiah, however, did not

° Dan. Levi de Barrios, Casa de Jaacob, p. 24.

conducted him thither, having discovered his imposture, began to cry him down; but was forced by the rest to retire, and obtained a certificate from them, upon condition that he should speak no more against him; but upon his breaking his word, was accused of divers notorious crimes. However, the false Messiah was found out, and forced to retire from Italy into Poland; and it is from the rabbi above mentioned that we have this account, so that it can hardly be called in question.

But the most celebrated rabbi that Germany hath produced in the last century, was the great Isaac Loria, author of the Metaphysical Introduction to the Cabalah, in which he examines the reasons which induced God to create the world.

He was a native of Jerusalem, and his appellative of Askenasi, *German*, was only given him on account of his long abode in that country; for he retired again into Palestine, towards the latter end of his life, and was buried at Sapheta in Upper Galilee (2).

(K) The true reason, however, of this extreme hatred, if we may believe the Germans, lies deeper, and is more justifiable, viz. the dissimulation and remissness of those of Portugal and Spain; who, as we have observed more than once, live in those countries, and conform in all things with the popish religion, for the sake of enriching themselves, and then retire into Holland, to enjoy with more safety the fruits of their hypocrisy.

(2) Narratiuncula Judæi cujusdam de R. Mordechai Pseudo Messia. an. 1682. ap. Buxtorf. Catalecta, p. 361.

pear; and the Jews found themselves vilely deluded by that impostor^p.

*Accused of
intelligence
against the
Spaniards.*

Of those who retired thither from Portugal and Spain, one of their chiefs, named Michez, of Spanish extract, is accused by Strada^q, of having promoted the wars in the Low Countries, by promising the magistrates of Antwerp a powerful succour, and writing to them from Constantinople, that the Grand Signior would, in a short time, find so much work for the king of Spain, that they would meet with no great obstruction from him; but though he did not keep his promise with them, it shews that the Jews were safer in those parts than in Spain, since he chose to shelter himself there so early. For it was not till about forty years after, that those of Portugal and Spain came to settle in Holland. However, their first assembly at Amsterdam caused no small jealousy among the citizens, who took them at first for Roman Catholics in disguise, till upon searching their houses, especially those where they met to worship, they found nothing but Hebrew books, and the volume of the Mosaic law; upon which they were only charged to pray for the preservation of the city, which they readily promised; and built soon after their first synagogue there, which they called the House of Jacob, because a rich Jew of that name was the founder of it^r. They reared another not long after, which they styled Neve Shalom, *the Dwelling of Peace*; and put it under the care of a famed rabbi, named Judah Vega, who was come from Africa, but left it and retired to Constantinople, where he compiled a history of his nation, down to the destruction of Jerusalem, by Titus. He was succeeded by R. Uziel, who censured the faults and remissness of the Jews, in such severe terms, that he incurred their hatred; upon which a third synagogue was built, to which the schismatics repaired, under the conduct of another rabbi, named Pardo. This last was styled Beth Israel, the House of Israel. This schism lasted about twenty years, not without great heat on both sides; but was at length happily ended, and the three synagogues were reconciled, and united into one, to which they gave the name of Talmud Hathorah, or *the Study of the Law* (L).

*Synagogues
in Amster-
dam.*

R. Me-

^p Voetii Disput. Select. tom. ii. p. 95.
Belg. lib. v. p. 214.

^q Strada de Bello
^r Vide Silva del. Anton. Alvares Suares.

(L) Since then they have well as synagogues, and one taken care to found schools as of them called Kether Hathorah,

R. Menasse, author of several learned treatises, and one of the ablest divines which the Jewish nation hath produced these many centuries, was chosen to expound the Talmud there, at the age of eighteen; and gained such reputation for his learning and application, that it raised the envy of the jealous rabbies, and created him many enemies; but he despised their calumnies, and pursued his studies with such assiduity, that at the age of twenty he published the first part of his Conciliator on the Pentateuch; wherein he endeavoured to reconcile the seeming contradictions of the sacred books, by the expositions of ancient and modern doctors, and by his own conjectures. This work, which he afterwards finished, gained him the esteem and admiration of all the learned, both Jews and Christians^s; and it must be owned, that no rabbi, either before or since, ever handled those difficult points with so much erudition and solidity.

R. Menasse chosen.

His high character.

Bartolucci accused him of having taken the advantage of the civil wars in England, to prevail upon Oliver Cromwell to permit the Jews to settle there. On the other hand, a Jewish historian affirms that Cromwell and his parliament invited him over to treat about that affair^t. But without entering farther into the matter of fact, was it not natural for him to endeavour to procure such an advantageous settlement to his nation as that of England? But whether invited or no, it is plain he came over into England with that design, and was well received by Cromwell and the parliament, as well as his apology for the Jews, in which he exploded all the calumnies raised against his nation, especially those of their crucifying and using the blood of Christian children at their passover; and pleaded their cause so well there, that, if we may believe some authors of those times, he obtained a much better settlement, and greater privileges for them, than

A.D. 1656.

Comes to England.

^s See the Epistle of R. Zachuth, prefixed to his Conciliator.
^t Barrios Histor. Univers. Judayc.

horah, or the Crown of the Law, hath been still governed by some of their most learned men, and was founded anno 1643. But that which most displays the flourishing state of this nation, is the vast and noble synagogue which they consecrated anno 1673, and hath been so deservedly admired by all the judges of architecture, and so much celebrated by their own preachers, that there has been a collection printed of the sermons preached on that occasion (1).

(1) De his, vide Basnag. ubi supra, sect. 5.

ever they had enjoyed before in England. Bartolocci charges him with other frivolous matters, though he represents them as crimes; such as his taking part with the Remonstrants, in order to obtain their friendship and protection, and printing his works without the approbation or leave of the Christian divines; from all which imputations he hath been sufficiently cleared by Mr. Bafnage. He died at Amsterdam, anno 1652, and left a son, who inherited his printing house, and printed his father's works in it ^u(M). R. Zachuth, a great friend and panegyrist of Menasse,

^u Bartol. Wolf, Bafnag. &c.

(M) Besides the Conciliator, he published, 1. A Spanish Bible, anno 1630. 2. A Hebrew Pentateuch, with a Spanish version to it, anno 1646. 3. Tesoro dos Dinim, or Treasury of Rites, in Portuguese, anno 1645. 4. His Oeconomia, or Collection of Rites, relating to women, children, servants, and goods. 5. A Panegyric on the Queen of Sweden. 6. His Phocylides, in Spanish verse. 7. His Eben Jekara, or Precious Stone, or comment on the statue of Nebuchadnezzar. 8. His Treatise of the Resurrection of the Dead, and Immortality of the Soul. 9. Of Adam's Fall, and Frailty of Human Nature. 10. Of the Hope of Israel; in which he endeavours to prove, from the relation of Antonio Montezino, that the ten Israelitish tribes are settled chiefly in America, along the river Sabation. This book was dedicated to the English parliament, and received the thanks of it from the chairman of the committee, in an epistle printed at London, anno 1650, in which the writer styles Menasse his most dear brother. 11. His Thirty Problems concerning the Creation, in Latin,

8vo. anno 1635. 12. His Treatise on the certain Term of Life. His Sepher Phene Rabbah, or Hebrew Index of Places in Scripture, which are explained in the Middrash Rabbah, or large comment on them, alphabetically digested. 13. His Sod Yesharim, or Secret of the Righteous, or treatise on the secrets of nature, or natural magic. 14. His Nishmath Chajim, or Breath of Life, on the Immortality of the Soul. 15. His Shaphah Berurah, or Pure Lip, on Grammar. 16. His Logic, his apology for the Jews, printed first in English, anno 1656, and since reprinted in the Phoenix, 1707, and different from another, under the name of Edward Nicholas, who professes himself to be no Jew, but betrays himself such by his style and writing. To these we might add his epistles to the learned of his time, on various and difficult points, of which he takes notice in his second part of his Conciliator. His three editions of the Hebrew Bible, from his own printing-house, and a much greater number of rabbinic books, which the reader may see in Bartolocci, Wolf, Bafnage, Hot-

naſſe, who flouriſhed at the ſame place and time, was of Portuguese extract, and born at Liſbon, anno 1575. He was ſent by his parents, who made outward profeſſion of popery, to ſtudy phyſic at Salamanca and Conimbra; Thence he returned and ſettled at his native place, where he gained no ſmall reputation for his learning, and more ſo by the charitable cures he performed. He wrote ſeveral books, particularly a hiſtory of the chief phyſicians, which he dedicated to the pope's reſidentiary there. After having diſſembled about thirty years, he retired to Amſterdam, where he was circumciſed, and died a Jew, leaving ſeveral works unfiniſhed, which he deſigned to print *. Thoſe he publiſhed were of the physical kind.

A.D. 1562.

Death.
R. Zachuth's
character.

Death.
A.D. 1642.

R. Abraham Iſrael Pitzaro flouriſhed likewise at Amſterdam. He wrote a book intituled the Sceptre of Judah, which is an expoſition of that prophecy of Jacob, in a ſwollen ſtyle, dedicated to the pharnaſſim, or judges of that ſynagogue, whom he ſtyles the ſtars which enlighten the firmament, and the Atlantes which bear up the people of Iſrael. It is a virulent book againſt Chriſtianity, in which he complains of the danger of confuting it, and of the unfair way in which Chriſtians expound the Scripture, of their unſuitneſs for ſuch a taſk, and of their tyrannic way of uſing thoſe Jews who expound them in a different way from them. It is not improbable that this was the motive which inclined thoſe pharnaſſim to ſuppreſs the publiſhing of that work, notwithstanding his great encomiums on them. Mr. Baſnage, who ſaw it in manuſcript, hath given a ſhort account of it, and of his way of interpreting the words Sceptre Shiloh, &c. in that prophecy, in a manner quite different from that of the Chriſtians, in order to confute the notion of the Meſſiah's being come, but for which we ſhall refer our readers to that author, to avoid running into too great a length *.

R. Abraham Pitzaro's
works.

R. Mortera was another celebrated doctor at Amſterdam, and a more ſubtile writer than Pitzaro; though his treatiſe Of the Truth of the Moſaic Law, and of the miraculous Providence of God over his People, be deſigned to prove that the law given to Moſes was perfect; and

A.D. 1645.

R. Mortera.

* See his Life, written by Ludov. Lemoſo, prefixed to his book De Calculorum Morbo. Wolf, ubi ſupra, No. 563. Baſnage, cap. 36. ſect. 13. * Hiſt. de Juifs, lib. ix. cap. 36, ſect. 14—21.

Hottinger, and other writers, Barrios's Univerſal Jewish Hiſtory. particularly Daniel Levi de

that the Christians have injured it, by pretending to raise it to a higher perfection, by the addition of new precepts. He is equally severe on the Protestants and Roman catholics; and endeavours to explode the authority of the New Testament, the efficacy of the Sacraments, and the rewards and punishments of another life (N).

They

(N) But the most remarkable of all the Jews of this city, was the late Spinoza, author of a new kind of atheism, and well known to all the learned for his philosophical works. His parents were of Portuguese extract, and in good circumstances, but he was born at Amsterdam, an. 1632; at his father's death, he would only accept of a bed of all that he had left him; and chose to live in the meanest and lowest way, and get his living by polishing spectacles and other such glasses, which brought him so little gain, that though he lived chiefly upon milk and gruel, he was as poor at the year's end as at the beginning. He refused a considerable sum, however, from a friend; and consented only to accept of a very small pension from him, upon which he lived. Some think that he received the first seeds of his atheism from his Latin master Vanden Ende. It is probable that the philosophy of Descartes gave him a disrelish to all Jewish learning, and at length to their religion. They soon perceived it by his abetting himself from the synagogue, and would have retained him by a considerable pension; but he rejected it, and became so odious to them, that some of them attempted more

than once to stab him; upon which he left that city, where he found they were too powerful and exasperated against him, to stay any longer amongst them; thence he retired to Leyden, and afterwards to the Hague. They pursued him, however, with their grand excommunication; but he protested against their sentence by a writing in Spanish, directed to the rabbies of the synagogue. He soon after published his geometrical demonstrations, and his meditations, and brought forth at length his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, in which was formed his new system of atheism, for which he hath been so much admired and caressed by the freethinkers in Holland, Germany, and France, from whom he received several invitations, and large encouragements, but refused them all, and died at the Hague, an. 1677, aged forty-four years.

As Spinoza had many followers and disciples, not indeed united into one sect, but scattered here and there; so had he also many learned opposers of his own nation, particularly the learned Balthazar Orobio, a Spaniard by birth, and physician, whose parents outwardly professed Christianity, but he, it seems, could not dissemble well enough to escape

They are no less numerous and flourishing at the Hague, where they have also a noble synagogue, and where those who are become wealthy and opulent seek for a peaceable and delightful retirement. For here it is that they enjoy the greatest prosperity, and live in the greatest luxury, and in the most sumptuous edifices. Yet such is their

*Rich ones
at the
Hague.*

cape suspicion, but was cast into the prison of the inquisition, and after three years close confinement, was put to the torture, in order to be made to confess himself a Jew. He, however, bore it with such constancy, that the inquisitors believing him a Christian indeed, discharged him.

At length tired of dissembling his religion, and coming to Amsterdam, he was circumcised, and made open profession of Judaism. He acquired such reputation by his success in physic, that he had hardly time to follow his studies; and when Spinoza's book appeared, he at first despised it, on account of its author. But when he received Bredenburg's answer to it, in which that author agreed with him in two dangerous positions, or seemed to hesitate about them; viz. 1st. That nothing ought to be admitted in matters of religion, but what is agreeable to reason. And, 2dly. That as ex nihilo nil fit, God could not be admitted to have created the world out of nothing. Orobio therefore undertook to confute them both, and in the execution of this task, proved himself an able metaphysician.

The last we shall name is the great Jacob Jehudah Leon, author of the Description of

the Temple of Solomon, which he compiled at Middleburgh. He was a Spaniard by birth, but retired into Holland, to be more at liberty to pursue his design; and in order to gain a more perfect idea of that noble edifice, applied himself to the building of a wooden model of it, upon the plans which he had met with among the several authors of his own nation. He afterwards formed his description from it, and published it in French, under the title of Description du Temple de Solomon, par Jacob Juda Leon, habitant de Middleburgh, dans la Zelande, l'an du monde 5403, that is, A.D. 1643.

He afterwards enlarged and improved it, and translated it into Hebrew, and gave it the title of Tabnith Hekal, the Figure of the Temple. It was greatly admired by the learned; and the duke of Brunswick ordered a Latin version to be made of it, with proper cuts, that he might judge the better of it. Judah added to it a description of the tabernacle, and a treatise about the ark and the cherubims, and an exposition of the Psalms, in which he undertook to explain the metaphorical expressions of the Talmud, which he said cost him no small pains and study (6).

(6) Basn. ibid. Wolf, N. 501. p. 316.

happinefs under that government, that they enjoy their wealth and grandeur without raifing the jealousy, zeal, and envy of the populace; whilst the reft carry on a confiderable traffic both at home and abroad, without being liable to thofe heavy impositions, vexatious profecutions, proferiptions, and other difafters which we have feen them groan under in other parts of Europe.

*In Eng-
land;*

*divided
into Ger-
man and
Portu-
guese.*

R. Netto.

In England, the Jews are allowed full liberty of their religion, a full freedom of trade, and the quiet enjoyment of their property. They are, like thofe of Holland, commonly diftinguifhed into German and Portuguefe, or, more properly, into northern or fouthern, and have each their refpective fynagogues, chiefs, fchools, &c. but no academy; fo that they are obliged to fend their youth to be educated in Germany, or at Amfterdam. The former are by far the more indigent, as well as the moft zealous for their religion, and moft careful to inftruct their meanef children in it, and in the knowlege of the Hebrew tongue: whereas the latter being rich, and fome of them opulent, are more remifs in all thefe refpects; infomuch, that many of them cannot fo much as underftand the liturgy of their fynagogues, but have it tranflated into Portuguefe. However, both have had fome learned rabbies, and, among the latter, the late R. Netto was juftly efteemed a man well verfed, not only in Jewifh, but in every other kind of learning. But the generality of them are more ufed to merchandize and traffic than to the ftudy of their docters. The rich among them are very generous and charitable, not only to their own poor, but to thofe of the Chriftians; and fome of them have diffused their beneficence among their neighbours, round their country feats, to fuch a degree, and in fuch a difcreet manner, as the nobleft Chriftians might be proud to imitate. As to thofe of lower rank, efpecially fuch as deal in the peddling mercantile way, their character is but indifferent.

*Their new
epoch from
their ad-
miffion into
England.*

How they were re-admitted into this kingdom, after having been fo long kept out of it by fevere laws, we have already hinted, in fpeaking of Manaffe Ben Ifrael; and this privilege hath appeared fo confiderable to them, that they have made a new epocha of it, which they caufed to be engraved on their monuments, and from which they date their moft confiderable writings. Having obtained leave to build a fynagogue, they ftyled it the Holy Affembly, and Jewifh Parnaffus. They are here much more affable, familiar, and converfible than in moft other countries;

tries; and will not decline a dispute about religion, in the familiar way of conversation.

We have now brought the history of the Eastern and Western Jews down to the close of the seventeenth century; it remains only that we give our readers a short account of their present state in all parts of the world. Several eminent writers, both of their nation, and among the Christians, have endeavoured to ascertain their number; among whom we shall only select some few, who seem to have been the most successful in their inquiries.

Their present state in all parts of the world.

R. Simon Luzati, who taught at Venice, owns it to be very difficult to come at the precise number of them, they being at this time dispersed over so many parts of the world. "We can get no intelligence concerning the ten tribes carried away captive by Shalmanezar (says he), nor of the country where they were settled, though the globe is now so well known. If we begin with the East, we know that there is a vast number of Jews in the kingdom of Persia, though they enjoy but little liberty there. The Turkish empire is their chief retreat, not only as they have been long since settled in it, but because a very great number of those that were expelled out of Portugal and Spain, retired thither. They are more numerous in Constantinople and Salonichi, than in any other part, supposed to amount to above eighty thousand in those two cities, and upwards of a million in the whole empire. A vast concourse of pilgrims flock to Jerusalem from all parts of the world, and carry thither great sums for the maintenance of their academies and numerous poor.

R. Luzati's account of them.

"They are likewise dispersed all over Germany, especially in the emperor's dominions; but are still more numerous in Poland, Lithuania, and Russia: there we have our academies, and several thousands of disciples, who study our laws both civil and canonical, because they there enjoy the privilege of judging all causes civil and criminal among themselves. They are not so numerous in the protestant states, which are severed from the church of Rome, though they are treated with great charity and mildness in the Low Countries, at Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and other free towns, where commerce is open to all strangers.

"All the Italian princes tolerate and favour the Jews, and inviolably maintain them in their privileges, without

any alteration; and I reckon that there are about twenty-five thousand in that country. In Fez, Morocco, and other states, which are not subject to the Turks, they are so much the more numerous, as they can so easily pass thither from Spain and Portugal. There are many other places in Africa, along the sea-coasts, which are mostly peopled by Jews; but as they are not known to us, it is very difficult to fix the number of them." Thus far our Venetian rabbi, concerning the present state of the Jewish nation.

*That of
Manasse
Ben Israel.*

R. Manasse Ben Israel, who believed the return of all the Jews to be near at hand, thought it clearly signified by the prophet Isaiah (O); and justly observed ^z that noble prophecy could not be meant of the return from the Babylonish captivity, because God did not then call all the twelve tribes, much less all the dispersed of Israel, from all the countries of their captivity. He observes, in the next place, that this promised deliverance is styled a second, because that universal Exodus from Egypt had preceded it; whereas that from Babylon was only confined to part of the two tribes of Judah and Levi; and when the Israelites left Assyria, to enter into the land of Judea, they did not pass any river either of Egypt or Ethiopia, as God promises they shall do, at their second or general return, when the waters of the Nile and Euphrates shall be parted, to open a dry passage to the tribes, as heretofore happened at the Red-Sea and the Jordan.

*Opinion of
the ten
tribes be-
ing in
America.*

Both rabbies differ only in this one point, that Luzati gives up the ten tribes as long since lost, or so blended,

^z Menass. Esperanza de Israel.

(O) "In that day, says the prophet, the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush (Ethiopia), and from Elam (Persia), and from Shinar (Babylon), and from Hamath (the East), and from the isles of the sea (the West). And he shall set up an ensign

for the nations, and shall assemble the out-casts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah, from the four corners of the earth, &c." And in another place he adds, "And in that day the Lord shall beat, or shake down from the channel of the river (Euphrates), unto the stream of Egypt (the Nile), and ye shall be gathered, one by one, O ye children of Israel, &c (7)."

(7) Isai, xi. 11, & seq.

that

that they cannot be discovered with any tolerable certainty; the other affirms them to be concealed in America, and other parts, where they have been miraculously preserved, by the divine Providence, for this glorious recall, when they shall come forth from their respective settlements, and be re-united to the rest of their brethren, in Assyria, whence the whole nation shall take their flight to Jerusalem, as birds to their nests. He grounds his opinion on these conjectures; first, he observes, that some of the people of America are unknown to us, and seem to have no relation with the other nations of it. Secondly, the Spaniards affirm, that upon their landing in Peru, they found a large stately edifice, dedicated to the Creator of the world; which cannot be supposed to have been built by the Indians, who were idolaters, and wholly then unacquainted with the use of iron tools, such as appeared to have been used in the building; so that it must of course be supposed to have been a synagogue erected by the Jews. And, thirdly, by a tradition of the Indians, this palace, as they termed it, had been built by a whole nation, that wore beards, and were more ancient than their incas^a.

R. Menasse likewise quotes an inscription found on a tomb in the island of St. Michel, one of the Azores, mentioned by Genebrard^b, which, though somewhat difficult to be decyphered, unless it be by the transposition of letters; yet, by the character and words, appears plainly enough to have been made by some Jews, who arrived in this island. Those tribes were settled in the East, and in the neighbourhood of the river Euphrates, or rather along the Chaboras that falls into it, the very country of their first patriarch. A great number of them went back to Judea, along with the Jewish captivity of Babylon, though they were from that time blended with them. As for those that staid behind, they not only spread themselves still farther as they multiplied, but kept constantly sending their deputies and oblations at proper seasons to Jerusalem, as long as the temple stood. They appear to have continued there till the eleventh century; since, as we have seen through the course of this chapter, they had all that time their chiefs of the captivity, synagogues, and academies; and though they have since been greatly decayed through the various persecutions that were raised against them, and revolutions of that empire, yet they

A Jewish inscription at one of the Azores.

His notion confuted.

Ten tribes, where.

^a Esperanza de Israel, p. 114, & seq. ^b Ibid. p. 26 44. & seq.

subsisted in great numbers, during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and do so to this day. So that we need not proceed to America to seek them out, nor suppose them either lost or concealed in some remote quarter of the globe. And if they are so blended one tribe with another, that they cannot now be possibly distinguished, it could hardly, without a miracle, have happened otherwise, during so long a series of ages, and such various vicissitudes as they have undergone.

*Jews in
China not
of that
number.*

*Alvarez's
account of
them.*

Several authors, both Jews and Christians, have likewise affirmed that the ten tribes were still preserved in China^c. One of the former tells us that there was a synagogue at Peking, the repairing of which had cost them ten thousand crowns, and that they had been settled in that province above five hundred years, and still kept one of the volumes of the law. He adds, that in the city of Ham-cheu, capital of the province of Che-kyang, they had a great number of synagogues, and Israelitish families; for that is the name they call themselves by; because, says he, being descended from the ten tribes, they know nothing of that of Jews. Alvarez, who had lived in China a considerable time, affirms that they had been settled there above six hundred years, and had obtained several privileges, on account of their services and fidelity to king Hun; that they were very numerous in some provinces, and had synagogues in most of their great cities, but more especially in that of Ho-nan, and in its metropolis Kaitong-fu, where they have a repository for the sacred volume, adorned with rich curtains, and in which they preserve an ancient Bible in Hebrew characters. These Jews, however, we are told, know nothing of Hebrew, and only mention the names of David, Abraham, and Isaac; are very ignorant and remiss in their law, even to the neglecting of circumcision, because the Chinese upbraid them with the cruelty of performing that ceremony on innocent babes^d.

*That of
other au-
thors.*

That author tells us moreover, that they have no notion of the Christian Messiah^e: whence he infers, that they were settled there before the time of Christ. One of their chiefs being asked, whether they had ever heard of the promised Messiah, who, he told them, was called Jesus Christ? replied to this effect: "Our Scriptures mentioned

^c Menasse, *Esperanza de Israel*, Trigant de Christiana expeditione, apud Sinas suscepta.

^d Alvarez's *Hist. of China*, part i.

^e *Id. ibid.* cap. 30. p. 212.

only one holy man of that name, viz. Jesus the son of Sirach; and we know of no other." They had a stately synagogue with divers apartments, in the heart of which was a high desk, on which they placed the volume of the law on festival days. They pretended that they had a very ancient copy of it; but that the river Hoemho, or *Yellow River*, one of the largest in China, having overflowed the city of Caïsom, capital of that province, they had with much difficulty, saved it; but the leaves of it being wetted, and the letters effaced, they had caused twelve new copies to be written, which were preserved in twelve different tabernacles. There is no room to doubt, but that these were real Jews, since they not only distinguished the five books of Moses by their Hebrew titles, but mentioned likewise the ancient judges and monarchs of their nation; and the testimony of that missionary is the less to be suspected, since, being ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, he relates those matters exactly as they were told to him^f. But those Jews, in all probability, give themselves a much greater antiquity than is consistent with truth; seeing they pretend to have been settled there under the government of the fifth dynasty, or royal family called Han, computed to have reigned from two hundred and six years before the Christian æra, to the two hundred and twentieth after it.

Jews numerous in Ho-nan.

Their pretended antiquity.

We are still more at a loss what to think of a letter, written in Hebrew, which the Jews of Cochin are said to have sent, some time ago, to the synagogue of Amsterdam; importing, "That they retired to the Indies, when the Romans conquered the Holy Land. They pretend to have had seventy-two kings, who succeeded each other within the space of a thousand years; but that afterwards, the jealousy of two brothers having kindled a war between them, whilst they were contesting for the crown, the neighbouring princes subdued them. Since which time they have continued in subjection to the Indian kings; but have, however, given such proofs of their fidelity to them, that Samuel Castoel, who died an. 1640, was governor of Cochin, and left his government to a man of the same name and religion." That succession of seventy-two monarchs, founded on their retreat to Cochin, ever since the reduction of Judea by Titus, seems a fiction invented to raise the glory of the Jewish nation. And we are only referred to distant times, and to unknown histories, be-

A letter from those of Cochin to those of Amsterdam.

^f Recueil de Lettres edifiantes & curieuses, vol. vii. let. i. ad fin.
: Barrios's Hist. Universal. Jud.

cause their present state hath nothing worth our admiration.

*In the East
Indies.*

All that we can infer from the various accounts above mentioned is, that the Jews are dispersed in the East Indies; that they are settled at Cochin, at Goa, Malabar, China, and even in America; but that none of these are descended from the ten tribes, whom we have shewn to be seated near the Euphrates in Persia, and other neighbouring countries, where, though very poor, yet they have maintained themselves to this time. The others are only families whom commerce hath attracted into those parts since their dispersion, but which can only be distinguished by some uncertain, not to say false, tradition. Neither doth it appear that they have had any monarchs or supreme government in any country. They live in the East, and in America, as they do in Europe, under the dominion of other princes, whether Christians or Gentiles: those in America, especially in the Portuguese and Spanish dominions, often pay dear for their avarice and dissimulation; being frequently detected and severely punished by the tribunal of the inquisition. In Turkey, Fez, Barbary, and Egypt, indeed, they are somewhat more than tolerated, and are sometimes admitted into public functions, especially in Egypt^h. The Ottoman princes even send them on some embassies; in which they value themselves upon making a more than ordinary appearance for the credit of their nation; and their flourishing condition under that government makes them so numerous, that they are reckoned to amount to a million; so that upon the whole, we may allow them to be about one million three hundred thousand dispersed all over the East, and upwards of three millions in all the world.

*Every
where in
subjection.*

*Jews
among the
Papists and
Protestants;*

*their partiality to
the former.*

The Jewish writers divide the West into two sovereignties, or rather into the two principal religions that reign in it, namely, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant; extolling the kind protection and favour they receive from the former, and complaining of the unkind treatment they meet with from the latter. "Roma pontificia," says Barrios, "sempre los ha patrocinada desde, quea destruye Jerusalem su general Titoⁱ: *Popish Rome*," says he; "bath always protected them, ever since its general Titus destroyed Jerusalem." It is true the generality of the popes have

^h Menasse Ben Israel, *Esperanza*, p. 103, & seq. *Basnag. ubi supra*, § 15. ⁱ Barrios, *ubi supra*, p. 3.

been their patrons and protectors; but it is no less certain, that some of them have likewise been their enemies and persecutors; and the same may be said of the other princes and states of Italy. But from France, Portugal, and Spain, they have been long banished; and those that have ventured to stay, live under the worst of dissimulations, and in continual danger of being discovered and burnt. They meet with kinder usage in the emperor's dominions, and especially in Poland, Lithuania, and Russia; but still, though their learning and academies thrive there more than in other places, they are still kept poor, or, at least, they fall far short of the flourishing condition of those in England and Holland. This consideration, one would think, should make them give the preference to these, in point of encouragement and hospitality: yet so it is, that they complain of the Protestants without exception, as not treating them with so much humanity as they could wish: though, as we have already observed, they enjoy under them all the liberty, both of religion and commerce, and live in all the quietness and safety, they can reasonably desire. But, it must be owned, they are excessive proud of their origin, and value themselves so much upon being the witnesses to the whole world of the unity of God, the favourite people of his providence, and the royal offspring of the friend of God, that they think it injurious to be suspected either of baseness or treachery. On these accounts they highly resent, not only every slight they meet with, and every restraint that is laid on them, but are very uneasy and impatient under their present state of servitude and subjection to other nations; whom they look upon as their inferiors, in point of antiquity, religion, and national pre-eminence.

Great freedom in Poland.

Complaint against the Protestants

High value for themselves.

Under all these disadvantages they comfort themselves with the assurance, that the so long promised Messiah's appearance cannot be far off; that he will, in the most triumphant manner, gather them up from all the four corners of the earth, and settle them in the land of their fathers, where they shall, with inexpressible joy and wonder, see their holy temple and city rebuilt more gloriously than ever, their religion embraced by all the sons of Adam, and the whole globe submitted to his sceptre. These are their hopes: which not only they, but a great number of Christians, firmly believe, are founded on the clearest and most express prophecies of the Old and New Testament. But as to the time of their being fulfilled,

both

Great expectation of the Messiah.

both sides have been so often mistaken in their calculations, that neither dare now pretend to guess when that great event will happen; and the former have even forbid, under the severest anathema, even to make any farther inquiry concerning this interesting subject.



C H A P. XL.

The History of Africa, and of all the principal Nations and States which inhabit it.

S E C T. I.

A general Description of Africa.

*Africa a
large pe-
ninsula.*

AT what time this vast continent, or, to style it more properly, peninsula (P), was first distinguished by the title of a distinct, or third, part of the world, is not possible for us to guess. Strabo knew so little of its extent, that he thought it much too inconsiderable to deserve that distinction. However, Strabo might well speak of Africa as he did, seeing he knew of no more of it than the Romans had reduced under their power, which was scarcely a tenth part. Ptolemy indeed appears to have been much better acquainted with some other parts, which were unknown to the Romans; yet, by the division he hath made of it into twelve regions, one may plainly see, that he was still unacquainted with nearly one half of it *. If we come to the African and Arab geographers, we shall be still more surprised at their ignorance of their own country, and at their contracting it within a smaller compass than Ptolemy, by their inaccurate maps and descriptions; and, what is still more strange, by their striking

*Greatly
changed
since Pto-
lemy.*

* Geograph. lib. iv. pass.

(P) As being every where surrounded by the sea, excepting at the isthmus of Suez, which joins it to Asia, at the extreme northern verge of the Red Sea, and divides Egypt from Arabia Petrea; which isthmus is not above twenty leagues in length.

out

out of it, all that lies between the Nile and the Red Sea, and making that river the boundary between Asia and Africa on that side.

What adds still to the difficulty of their geography, especially that of Mozzawdi and Bebker, is the difference of names which they give to provinces, capes, gulphs, towns, &c. from those which we find in Ptolemy above mentioned, as well as that of their longitude and latitude, which cast a great, and in some measure, unavoidable obscurity on their cosmography, seeing they only make use of those new names which the Arabs gave them at their first coming into Africa, most probably with a view to obliterate the memory of the old inhabitants. To all which difficulties if we add the devastation of sundry provinces, the destruction of many ancient cities, whose names and memory perished with them, and a great number of new towns, which have been built by those new comers; we shall have little cause to wonder at the obscurity and imperfection which still reigned in all the geographical descriptions of this part of the world, both with respect to its extent, true situation, coasts, and much more so of its internal provinces.

Africans not well acquainted with it.

Even Leo Africanus, that learned Moor (Q) and eminent African geographer, after all his studies, travels, and

Leo Africanus knew not one half of it.

y Vide Marmol. Afric. lib. i. cap. 3.

(Q) He was a native of Granada, and one of those who were forced to fly into Barbary, under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. He at first settled at Fez, where he made himself master of the Arabic tongue, and had an opportunity of consulting all the African geographers who had written before him; after which, partly out of curiosity, and partly in a public character, under some of the African princes, he took occasion to travel through a great part of Africa, and to observe what was most curious and remarkable in them; by which means he was enabled to write the

description of this country, which goes under his name. Having had, among other misfortunes, that of being taken by some pirates, near the coast of Tunis, he was soon after brought to Rome, and presented to pope Léo X. who, being apprised of his great skill in geography, and of his having compiled a curious description of Africa, caused him to be instructed in the Christian religion, and afterwards to be baptized by the name of John Leo; that pontiff having settled a handsome pension on him, he staid long enough at Rome, to become master of the Italian language, and to

and diligent researches, his application, and earnest desire to give the world a more perfect knowlege, and more ample and accurate description of this vast peninsula than any who had wrote of it before him; yet, on the whole, he may be said to have gained but a maimed and imperfect knowlege of the far greater and most considerable part of it: at least the lame and truncated division which he, or rather his masters, give us of it, into four parts only, namely, Barbary, Numidia or Biledulgerid, Libya, and Nigritia, or, as it is commonly called, Negroe-land², plainly proves, that he excludes no less from it than the kingdom of Egypt, and the two Ethiopias, or, in other words, strikes out the largest and most considerable part from the whole. These Marmol hath indeed added to the other four, and reckons them as the fifth and sixth parts into which he divides the whole African continent; though these three last are so confusedly distinguished, that he seems to make a threefold Ethiopia, namely, the Higher, Lower, and a third, which he places above Egypt, and calls the kingdom of Newba, or Nubia; unless we suppose that he intended to include this last in his first, or Upper².

Our chief knowlege of it owing to the Portuguese.

From what hath been hitherto said, our readers may judge what imperfect knowlege the Europeans, not to say all other nations, the natives included, had of this rich and extensive continent, till the Portuguese, by their early and superior skill in navigation, were enabled not only to pursue their new discoveries around its western and eastern coasts, and penetrate even to the utmost verge of its northern extent along those of the Arabic, or Red Sea, but by their conquests and settlements on the most convenient bays, harbours, and rivers, to open to themselves a way into the inland parts, as well as to fix their longitudes and latitudes by repeated observations, to that degree of accuracy and certainty, in which we now have them set down in our most correct African maps.

Vasco de Gama first doubled the Cape of Good Hope.

Before the close of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese king Emanuel, excited by a desire of discovering a route

² Leo Afric. lib. i. cap. 3. ^a Marmol Afric. lib. i. cap. 4.

translate his African history he had wrote it, into Italian out of the Arabic, in which (1).

(1) Florian Epist. ad Melchior. Schet. Corvino. prefix. in Lat. vers. ejusdem Leon. Afric. Histor.

to the East Indies by sea, appointed the famous Vasco de Gama admiral of that expedition. This was the first European that doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and discovered, in his very first voyage, both the western and eastern coasts of it, by which means his countrymen were enabled to make settlements, and to establish such a commerce with both sides as hath helped them, and other Europeans, to that more perfect and satisfactory knowledge which we have now acquired.

We are no less beholden to them for the far greater share of what we know of the inland parts, and most considerable empires and kingdoms of it; particularly those of Habesh or Abyssinia, Monomotapa, Munoe mugi; the eastern kingdoms of Kongo, Angola, Metamba, Loango, and others on the western; those of Sofala, Mozambico, Quiloa, Mombaza, Melinda, on the eastern coast. Their various religions, governments, laws, customs, products, commerce, and other particulars, we are made acquainted with by their missionaries, who have penetrated into those torrid and unwholesome climes, and amongst the most barbarous nations, with the utmost hazard, and through the greatest hardships and discouragements, to propagate the Gospel amongst them: though it must be owned, that, in this last respect, Africa hath been much more neglected than any other part of the world. The excessive heats, badness of diet, unwholesome waters, hardships in travelling, bad accommodations, dreadful distempers, and other disasters, which the first that were sent thither underwent, made such a dreadful havock amongst them, that scarce one in ten outlived the first six months; and those that did became so weak and extenuated by frequent relapses, that it was with the greatest difficulty they could go through with their spiritual functions. All these discouragements brought such an ill report on that mission, as quite cooled the zeal of the most religious and mortified orders among them, insomuch that the court of Portugal, though it wanted neither zeal nor other motives for promoting so laudable a work, could yet with great difficulty supply them with the twentieth part of their wants, even though assisted by the pope and the society de propaganda fide.

*African
missiona-
ries.*

S E C T. II.

*The topographical Description of Africa.**Africa described.**A large peninsula.**Its figure.**Extent in longitude and latitude.**Situation under the torrid zone.**Why supposed uninhabitable by the ancients;*

WE have already hinted that this large continent is encompassed all round by the sea, excepting at the isthmus, or narrow neck of land, at Suez, which is computed to be about seventy miles in length, and divides the Mediterranean from the Red Sea, whilst it joins the continent of Asia to that of Africa, from thence styled a peninsula, and by far the largest in the world. Geographers have been pleased to compare the figure it makes on the maps, some to a heart, others to an irregular pyramid inverted, whose basis, which faces the North, and extends itself from the mouth of the Nile to the streight of Gibraltar, is washed by the Mediterranean, which is its boundary on that side. Part of its eastern side is bounded by the Red Sea, and all the rest by the eastern and western oceans, ending in one point at the Cape of Good Hope. Others again, to a triangle or a bow, whose string reaches from Cape Vert, or from Sierra Leona to that of Good Hope, and on the middle of which is the little island of St. Thomas. Its utmost extent from north to south, on both sides of the equinoxial, which is taken from the Cape Bona, in the Mediterranean, lying under the 35th degree of north latitude, to that of Good Hope, under the 35th and a half south, contains 70 degrees and a half, or fourteen hundred geometrical leagues, twenty to a degree. Its extent from east to west is taken from Cape Vert, to that of Guarda Fui, situate on the utmost verge of the streights of Babel Mandel, contains 75 degrees, which make an extent of fifteen hundred leagues from east to west. Hence it appears that two thirds, or very near it, of Africa lie under the torrid zone, and it is divided across, by the equinoctial line, into two parts; of which, however, the northern is by far the most extensive of the two, as well as the most exposed to the vertical rays of the sun, which, being reverberated by the sandy soil, occasion such excessive heat, especially in the inland parts, as is scarcely supportable to any but the natives. Setting aside that variety of divisions, which our modern geographers have contrived, and which would rather confound than inform our readers, we shall confine ourselves to that which seems to us the most natural, easy, and succinct, consequently the most suitable to such an extensive work.

Africa,

Africa, therefore, may most conveniently be divided into four parts. *How most easily divided.*

1. The country of the whites, comprehending Egypt, Barbary, Numidia or Biledulgerid and Zaara, or the Desert.

2. That of the blacks, comprehending Nigritia, Guinea, and Nubia.

3. Ethiopia, including all the rest of the continent, and which is most commonly divided into Upper and Lower Ethiopia. The former comprehends the vast empire of Abyssinia, with the several states along the coast of the Red Sea, which have been since dismembered from it; the latter includes the kingdoms of Kongo, Angola, Loango, and Caffraria, along the western, or Atlantic; and those of Monomotapa, Sofala, and along the coasts of Zanguebar and Ajan, on the eastern, or Indian ocean; together with the inland kingdoms of Munoemugi, Manica, Chicova, Moca, &c. and the various nations of Galilas, and Zangues, dispersed through Africa Anterior, of all which we shall speak in their proper places.

4. The islands which lie around Africa, as well in the Mediterranean and Red Sea, as on the eastern and western coasts.

All the inhabitants of this vast continent, though distinguished under a variety of denominations, according to their different situations, extracts, tribes, and governments, are, nevertheless, commonly included in that two-fold distinction of Africans and Arabs, or else of Whites and Blacks; and this is the most common distinction which geographers and other African writers make between that vast variety of nations which inhabit the African continent, upon a probable supposition that, if there were any of the ancient inhabitants still in being, they have been long since blended with them. Nevertheless, to avoid as much as possible all confusion, it will be necessary to assign the different parts and cantons they are settled in, as well as their different extracts, occupations, way of living, manners, and other peculiarities (R).

With

(R) The white Africans, according to Leo Africanus, are divided into five nations or tribes; namely, the Zanhagians, Musmudans, the Zenetæ, and Gumeranians. Marmol calls the two first of

them Zinhagians and Muçamudins. The Musmudans are seated, according to the former, on the east and south of mount Atlas, from Hea to the river Servi, and extend themselves along the plains of the

*The genius
and temper
of the Afri-
cans in ge-
neral.*

With respect to the native Africans, who are by much the most numerous, we might reasonably expect to find, in such a vast extensive tract of land, and so great a variety of climates, nations, and governments, a proportionable diversity of inhabitants, in regard to the qualifications both of body and mind: on the contrary, a general uniformity runs through all those various regions and people; so that, if any difference be found among them, it is only in the degree of the same qualities, and, what is more strange still, those of the worst kind; it being a common known proverb, that all people of the globe have some good as well as ill qualities, except the Africans. That this defect is rather owing to their bad education, and the tyranny of their governments, than to their country, is plain from the great personages it hath formerly produced, such as St. Cyprian, Augustine, Tertullian, among the clergy; the Hannos, Hannibals, Asdrubals, among the heroes; Terence among the poets, and a vast number of others we need not mention, any more than their ancient industry and application in cultivating their lands, commerce, and useful arts: whereas they are now every where degenerated into a brutish, ignorant, idle, treacherous, thievish, mistrustful, and superstitious people, even in those empires and states where one might expect to find them more polished, humane, docile, and industrious.

four provinces of Hea, Suz, Guzula, and Morocco.

The Gumeranians possess the mountains of Mauritania, the streight of Errif, which begins at that of Gibraltar, and extends eastward to the frontiers of the kingdom of Tremecen; and these two tribes have their distinct settlements, whilst the other three are intermixed and dispersed through most parts of Africa, though not without knowing, and often quarrelling with, one another.

The Zanhaghians likewise inhabit the deserts of Lybia, from which, says Leo, it plainly appears, that they formerly dwelt in tents, and in the

plains; and that they had their own governors, or chiefs, who protected and governed them, and employed themselves in all kind of arts that were necessary to social life, and, among others, in that of feeding their numerous herds, whilst those who lived in towns were taken up with the cultivation of their lands, or in some manufactures.

These five nations, or tribes, are divided into six hundred families in the genealogical table which Rachu, or, as Marmol calls him, Ibn Al Rakik, hath given of them. Of the other sort of Africans we shall speak more fully in its proper place.

Neither

Neither is this general description applicable to the modern Africans only; for we find the ancient inhabitants of this country, no less severely treated by the Greeks and Romans, who have represented them under the most odious and despicable character, as proud, lazy, treacherous, thievish, revengeful, addicted to all kinds of lust, incestuous, brutish, savage, cruel, inconstant, base, cowardly, and superstitious ^b. One of them, who knew them better than any other stranger, hath summed up their infamous character in the most lively colours ^c.

Their infamous character by the Romans, &c.

A great deal of ingenuity hath been displayed in various attempts to account for the black colour of the negroes; of which we can say nothing more satisfactory than that it is certainly owing to a kind of reticulum extremely soft and delicate, which surrounds the whole body, between the skin and the epidermis. The curious have observed with admiration, that the children of negroes, are at the birth entirely white, except the parts of generation, and a small black circle about the nails; the rest of the body gradually adopts the same colour, sometimes in four and twenty hours, sometimes in a week.

It is remarkable, 1. That the Negroes how black soever whilst in health, are no sooner attacked with any sickness but they grow gradually more pale and whitish, according to the nature and degree of the distemper, even to the total discharge of their blackness; and, in some cases, acquire a wanness, like that of a maid who languishes under the green sickness ^d.

Grow white when sick; turn black when dead.

2. That if their disease reduce them to ever so great a paleness, yet they reassume their full original blackness, as soon as they are dead.

3. If any of them chance to receive some hurt in the course of their labour, such as a burn or scald, whatever part happens to be so hurt, becomes white, notwithstanding their being thoroughly cured of it, and although both the skin and the epidermis are totally restored.

4. That the negroes in general have the soles of their feet of a different colour from the rest of their body, that is, almost white; so that the reticulum does not extend to that part.

^b See Lucan, lib. iv. Virgil. Eneid, lib. viii. Serv. in eundem. & al. plur. ^c Salvian de Provid. lib. vii. ^d Vide Riolan opuscul. epidermia, cap. 4. Labat Relat. d'Afrique, vol. ii. cap. 15.

Their religion idolatry of the worst kind.

Horrid superstitions.

Cassres have no religion.

The Gallas, Agaus, and others, dispersed through Africa. The impious Imbii.

War against the Deity.

Many relics of Judaism throughout Africa.

The African natives have been, from the very beginning, addicted to the old idolatry, magic, witchcraft, and other superstitious rites and customs of the ancient Egyptians, from whom they are rightly supposed to have received them. They worshipped the sun, moon, and planets, the fire, which they kept continually burning, a great variety of living creatures, down to the lowest insects and vermin, both of land and sea, as well as a multitude of inanimate substances, such as rivers, lakes, mountains, trees, and plants. To all these they still pay a kind of worship, as well as to an inferior sort of imaginary deities, or spirits, of which even their priests can give but a lame account; though they are supposed to enter into all the concerns of life, good or ill success, auguries, charms, and ordeals of several kinds for absolving the innocent, or discovering the guilty.

There is still, if possible, a worse kind of heathenism prevalent through the large tract of Caffraria, or country of Cassres, which extends itself from the equinoctial line, quite to the Cape of Good Hope. The inhabitants of these regions are but one remove from brutes; they live, like them, without religion or laws, void of reason, humanity, and industry; and subsist altogether upon plunder and hunting. Much of the same wild nature are the Gallas and Agaus, dispersed through most parts of Africa, under different names, though, in all likelihood, of the same extract, and all following the same inhuman trade of plundering, rapine, and massacre^d: but the most dreadful of all are the Imbii, a generation of impious and barbarous monsters, who are situate pretty near the country of the Hottentots, but spread themselves far and wide on both sides, as well as towards the north. These not only declare themselves at war with all mankind, but with heaven itself; against which they shoot their impotent arrows, accompanied with the most horrid curses, and other expressions of hatred and defiance. They moreover eat the flesh of their slaves and prisoners of war; the latter they commonly roast alive, and by a slow fire, whilst they strive to drown their dreadful outcries, by dances, music, and execrable shouts of joy.

On the other hand, we find here such ancient relics of Judaism, not only in the large empire of Habassin, or Abyssinia, whither the famed queen of Sheba is said to

^d De his, vide Linschot, Jarric, Pigafet, Davity, Dapper, Tellez, Bermudez, Lobo, & al. mult.

have introduced that religion, but in many other parts of Africa, though perhaps formerly subject to that crown, but since dismembered from it, and sunk in other respects into the grossest idolatry. Great numbers of Jews have been also settled in that empire; some of whom composed a kind of republic, independent from those monarchs, and observed all the rites of the Mosaic law.

These have been since dislodged from their high, and almost inaccessible mountains, for their frequent ill offices to the reigning princes, and siding with their revolted subjects, and have been brought into due subjection: since which time they have lived dispersed in several provinces of that empire, and have made but an inconsiderable figure. There are some who call themselves originary Jews, of the posterity of Abraham, who pretend to have formerly come in colonies, and to have settled in Egypt, Abyssinia, and along the Niger; and these last are more numerous and considerable than the two former^e: but those who came and are here still in the greatest number, are either such as took refuge in these parts, after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Jewish nation by Titus Vespasian; or those who fled from other persecutions under the Romans, Persians, Saracens, and since under the Christians, out of Italy, Spain, Portugal, the Low Countries, France, and England. All these go differently habited, as well as divided among themselves. They distinguish themselves by their several nations and tribes; have their separate synagogues; but are not allowed any power or authority in the government of this country, except what they exercise amongst themselves; and, though many of them become exceedingly rich and opulent, yet are they every where despised and hated, not so much indeed for their religion, as for their knavish practices in every branch of commerce.

The next religion in Africa is the Christian, which was planted there, according to the Abyssinian accounts, from the earliest times, by the eunuch of queen Candace. However that be, there is no doubt of its having been preached there very soon, but it was miserably torn by the factious heretics of those days, the Donatists, Manichees, Arians, and Pelagians, especially under the reigns of Dioclesian and Julian the Apostate, notwithstanding the great privileges which Constantine the Great had granted to the orthodox clergy, to protect them from their insults; but

Dispersed.

Christians in Africa persecuted by the heretics.

Abyssinian church infested by Eutychius. Roman Catholics given to the grossest superstitions.

here Christianity met with a very ungrateful soil. The church of Abyssinia was soon infected with the Eutychian heresy, and over-run with the grossest superstitions, as we shall see in its proper place. Those parts which are subject to the kings of Portugal and Spain, and have received their faith from the missionaries of the church of Rome, as the kingdoms of Kongo, Angola, and Loango, on the western, and of Sofala, Melinda, and others, on the eastern coast, acknowledge indeed the church of Rome for their mother; but shew little else of religion than its most superstitious rites and tenets; which they so shamefully stain with vices and immoralities of all kinds, that they are rather a discredit than an honour to the Gospel of Christ.

Other Christian sects in Africa.

Besides them, we meet with a variety of other Christians dispersed through Africa; such as Greeks, Armenians, Maronites, Georgians, Thomists or Christians of St. Thomas, most of whom have their own patriarchs; and the rest are subject to him of Alexandria.

Mohammedism brought into Africa.

But the religion of Mohammed hath made the greatest and quickest progress through Africa; but, whether through the ignorance of its propagators, or the depravity of the converts, it is here stripped of all its austerities, such as abstinence from wine, hogs flesh, &c. fasts and long lents, frequent prayers, ablutions, and many other injunctions of the like nature. One would hardly imagine, nor would a staunch Moslem acknowledge, it to be the same, disfigured as it is moreover by the many heathenish superstitions with which it is blended, and which are more tenaciously observed than any precepts of the Koran. Thus, among the Negroes, they have neither mosques, nor observe any day of the week as a day of rest; nor indeed any of the Mohammedan festivals, except that of Bairam, which is a kind of passover, after their Ramadan, which last they keep merely as introductory to the other, but without any strictness. Much after the same manner shall we find Mohammedism mutilated and disfigured in most places of Africa, where it hath been introduced, and even in those which are tributary to, or subject to the dominions of the Grand Signior; such as the states of Barbary, and some of his other conquests in Egypt and along the Red Sea; of all which, and other parts of the African dominions, we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the course of this work. In the mean time, though we have given formerly a full account of the various sects of Mohammedans, yet, as they are commonly distinguished under

Mixed with Paganism.

der two chief heads; namely, the Lashari, which are spread over this continent, as well as over Syria and Turkey; and the Imams, which flourish in Persia and Khorasan; it will not be improper here to give our readers a short account of the marabouts, or *saints*, of the former, and their tenets, so far as relates to Africa, which will be a farther confirmation of the general depravity of their votaries. These saints, or rather cheats, are very numerous, and highly regarded all over Africa, especially among the Mohammedan Moors and Arabs, on account of their extraordinary way of living; and by the rest, out of fear of a superior power they arrogate to themselves, of hurting and punishing, more or less severely, every one who hath the misfortune to fall under their displeasure; insomuch that this insolent fraternity is become every where as dreaded as it is numerous and powerful.

There are three classes, or orders; the first of them settled in cities, towns, and villages, both in the maritime and inland parts; the second is of the wandering kind, without any settled habitations; and the third affect to live in the thickest forests, and rocky and barren deserts. They all pretend to great mortifications and austerities, the last especially; but all of them are wicked and debauched to the most shameful degree, both in their principles and morals. The first affirm, that a man may, by dint of fasting and abstinence from meat, attain the nature of an angel; the heart, by such duties, becoming so cleansed and pure from all evil infection, that it can sin no more, though ever so willing to do so; but they teach, at the same time, that this supreme degree of happiness cannot be attained but by the help of fifty sciences, which are so many steps by which one must ascend to it. Nevertheless, they imagine that God doth not impute to them the sins they commit before they have gained the first twenty degrees. They live at first in the most strict austerity, and macerate themselves with grievous fastings, but afterwards give themselves up to every kind of festivity, and all degrees of drunkenness and debauchery. One of their learned, named Efeb Ravardi Sitira Varden, hath described their austerities in four books; whilst another, named Ibu'lfared, hath displayed the whole of their religion in a beautiful poetic piece, full of wit and humour. Al'fagari, another ingenious author, hath written a comment upon it, wherein he hath collected all the rules of that sect, and discovered the various steps which lead to that pretended happiness. The verse of that piece runs in such a sweet and

*Three sorts
of mara-
bouts.*

*The tenets
and scan-
dalous mor-
als of the
first.*

harmonious

harmonious strain, and elegant style, that those of this sect rehearse or sing no other at their public feasts.

The tenets of this sect are chiefly these: the heavens, fixed stars, and elements, are all holy, or have something of the Deity in them, so that no law or religion can be erroneous; and every one is at liberty to worship that object to which he finds his heart most inclined. All knowledge concerning the Deity was infused into the first man, whom they called El Chot, and who had been elected by God, and made equal to him in knowledge. After his death, the elders, or chiefs of the sect, chose one from among their number of forty, who being also dead, they chose a new one, but from among seven hundred and sixty-five.

*Their mad
freaks.*

*An instance
of their
brutish in-
continence,
and of the
people's
jolly.*

These wretched sectaries are, by the rules of their order, bound to wander to and fro, incognito, covered only with old tatters; so that they might be taken for madmen, void of reason and common sense, rather than a set of marabouts, or *saints*. They run wild, and almost naked, all over Africa, and will even offer violence to modest women that come in their way. They are more numerous still in Egypt, and on the coasts of Barbary. One of these brutish fellows, Leo Africanus says, he saw at Alcair, or Grand Cairo, seize upon a matron-like woman, just coming out of the bagnio in one of the market-places of that city, called Bain Al Kafraim, and ravish her, in full sight of a crowd of people, who immediately all ran after her, and strove to kiss or touch some of her garments, imagining that they had, by that filthy act, contracted some extraordinary degree of holiness; crying out that the adulterer was a person of great merit, and had committed no crime in what he did, but only in outward appearance; whilst the woman's husband saw himself obliged to suppress all appearance of resentment, and even to acknowledge the favour done to his spouse by a magnificent banquet, and some handsome presents.

These vermin swarm no less in Nigritia, where the poor Negroes stand in great fear of their killing power (S),

(S) These poor senseless wretches are prepossessed with such a strong notion that those impudent cheats can dispatch them out of this life in two or three days, and at the same time so afraid of being hurried out of it at so short a warning, that there is hardly any thing they will not do or part with to avoid their dreadful displeasure (1).

(1) Labat, ubi supra, p. 335.

though

though they hate them in their hearts. They have whole towns and villages along the Niger, or Sanaga, and form a kind of republic among themselves; and there, as we are farther informed, they have a fine large city, called Confoon, built with stone, and covered with tiles, and inhabited by some of the richest merchants in that country, which place is looked upon as the capital of the marabout crew in this part of Africa^f. They were so insolent as to persuade a petty prince, in that neighbourhood, to send a haughty message to the chief commissary of the French, threatening him and his whole garrison with a speedy and dreadful vengeance, by the infallible help of their conjuring power, for refusing to pay a certain custom. But that wise gentleman soon suppressed their insolence, by letting them know that he had artillery and fire-arms about him, which were proof against all their enchantments^g.

The second class of marabouts is that of the cabalists, as they affect to be called. These abstain from meats, and have a peculiar diet. They fast much and often, according to the various seasons of the year. They wear small square tablets, engraved with strange characters, or cyphers, and pretend to have daily intercourse with angels, who teach them the knowledge of all things. A celebrated doctor, named Beni, was the first institutor of all their rules, the compiler of their prayers, and contriver of all their tablets. Those institutes are divided into eight parts; the first they style *al omba ennonorita*, or *the demonstration of light*, containing their prayers and fast-days; the second, *feme al meharif*, *the sun of sciences*, treats of their tablets, their usefulness, and manner of using them; the third, *lesmo al chufne*, is *a table of the ninety-nine virtues*, which they conceive to be comprehended in the name of God. The other five have also their peculiar names, and treat of particular subjects relating to their way of living.

The second class described.

The third sort of marabouts are called funnakites, who live an ascetic life, in woods and deserts, and affect to shun the company of men. They live only upon herbs and vegetables, but retain a mixture of heathenish superstitions and idolatry. They also use circumcision, but do not administer it to any till they have attained the thirtieth year of their age, and yet baptize in the name of the living

Third sort described.

^f Labat. Afric. ubi supra, vol. iii. cap. 11. p. 338.
Leo African. Grammay, Marmol, Dapper, & al.

^g Vide &

*Probably
the off-
spring of
the ancient
Thera-
peutes.*

God; so that their religion appears to be a strange compound of Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity, and may, in all probability, be the mongrel spawn of the ancient Therapeutes described by Philo. They are so celebrated in Egypt, Lybia, and other parts of Africa, for their recluseness from human society, and austere way of living, that they have been challenged both by Jews and Christians for their own. Thus much may suffice concerning the African marabouts: we shall only add with regard to the first class; namely, that they are an excellent safeguard to travellers against thieves and plunderers, whether Negroes, Moors, or Arabs, that infest the roads of that great continent; so that the safest way to go from any part to another, is to allure one of these fellows to attend you, and you are sure to travel unmolested from all other rogues and vagabonds, there being none of them, or of any other class, that will dare to offer any insult or incivility to the greatest stranger under such protection.

With respect to manufactures, mechanics, and the necessary arts of life, the Africans are naturally too proud and indolent to learn industry from a parcel of indigent despicable strangers, whom extreme poverty and want forces to abandon their native country, and wander to the utmost parts of the globe, through all difficulties and dangers, to obtain a wretched livelihood. For this is the real notion they conceive of them and their commerce; of course they look upon them as people designed by heaven for their drudgery and service, and to import all that is valuable and delightful from other parts of the world into that happy country: and so satisfied are they with their lot, though ever so unhealthy and barren, and themselves ever so miserable, that, whenever they chance to converse with strangers, one of the principal questions they ask them is, whether they ever saw, or think there is a finer country, or a happier people than their's. Those rich gold mines, with which the whole country abounds, and which yield their precious ore without the hundredth part of the labour and danger of those of Mexico and Peru, they consider as an inexhaustible treasure, that sets them above all anxious care and laborious industry, as long as that single commodity, so highly prized and coveted by Europeans and Asiatics, is sufficient to procure them, without the trouble of fetching, whatever those countries produce, for their conveniency or delight. As for any thing else, they think their soil can easily supply them with a sufficiency without any other labour than what they can

can turn over to their wives and slaves; whilst they enjoy the fruits of it in ease and comfort; that is, in smoaking, singing, and dancing, and all such indolent amusements, of which, if they sometimes deprive themselves, it is only for the more manly diversions of hunting and fishing. As for handicraft trades, agriculture, and household business, they are reckoned so much beneath them, as to be only fit for their women and slaves. Inhuman and void of all natural affection, they can see these poor female drudges sinking under their work, and under a scorching sun scratching the ground with no better tool than a flat kind of mattock or pick-ax, to sow millet, maiz, or some grain or roots, for the support of the family, and, perhaps, with a sucking child hanging by a swaddling band on her back, and without any other refreshment from morning to night than a little meal diluted with water. They cause them daily to sweat and slave at a wooden pestle and mortar, to break their maiz and millet instead of a hand-mill, or other more proper convenience^k.

*Hard state
of the wo-
men.*

If we look into those few manufactures and handicrafts that are amongst them, we shall find them carried on in the same rude and awkward manner. In their weaving manufacture the weaver hath neither shuttle, nor any of those appurtenances which belong to a loom. This last consists only of two smooth and short beams, laid on the ground, and fastened together by a third, which goes across them. On these he fastens the threads of the woof, and between every other of them he carefully conducts that of the warp, till he has gone through the whole breadth of it, which is seldom above a yard, and so continues the same painful task forward and backward till he hath, not without a good deal of patience, brought it to a full end, which seldom exceeds two yards. From which it is plain that one of our weavers, with his proper tools, could dispatch more in one day than these could do in a month; and though they have, in many parts, Europeans settled among them, yet could they never prevail upon them to fall into a more expeditious method by a proper improvement of their looms. What is however surprising, is that they can make shift to turn out some pretty cloths, striped with divers colours, and beautiful enough to the eye; and after the same method, they weave likewise great variety

*Weaving
manufac-
turers
work slow.*

^k Cavaz. ap Labat, vol. i. cap. 8. p. 119, & seq.

of curious mats of different colours, to be sent into Arabia, Persia, and India.

*Earthen
ware.*

In their earthen manufacture they know nothing of the use of a wheel; instead of which they use a kind of molds made of the rind of calabashes, cut into several shapes. In the inside of these they spread the clay with their hand, till they have brought it to a certain degree of thinness, and even with the rim, which is not only difficult, but often precarious work; neither have they the use of kilns to burn their vessels, but cover them with straw, and set it on fire, which gives them a black colour, without gloss or varnish; yet with these poor helps they can produce a great variety of vessels, such as dishes, platters, pots, pitchers, and pipkins¹.

*The coast-
ers more
industrious
and civi-
lized, on
account of
trade.*

The same want of ingenuity appears in their masonry, carpentry, their manufactures of iron, copper, their various weapons of war, and musical instruments. This indolence, and want of genius and industry of the native Africans, relates only to those who inhabit the inland parts; those who live on the coasts have been long since allured to a more active and laborious life, as well as civilized in their manners, by their frequent commerce with the Europeans and other strangers. And here emulation, and the prospect of gain, have helped so far to divest them of their high opinion and conceit of themselves and country, that they have not disdained to accept of all the helps they could get from foreigners, nor even to be more than ordinary curious in finding out all the most considerable improvements they had made in trades and manufactures, in order to make them as much as possible their own. But though their success hath so well answered their expectations in every respect, that one might think it would have stimulated the rest to follow their example, yet it had a quite contrary effect, and instead of a laudable emulation, hath produced among them mutual hatred, contempt, jealousy, and distrust.

*The com-
merce of
Africa.*

The commerce of this part of the world was but inconsiderable. Before the Europeans went there, it was chiefly carried on with the Arabs, Persians, Armenians, and Mohammedans, and mostly confined to the eastern coasts, and those of the Red Sea; but since that time, Italians, French, English, and Dutch, as well as the Spaniards

¹ Cavaz. & al. ubi supra.

and Portuguese, have settled their several factories in divers parts of it; and the latter, by their early conquests and settlements, have carried off by far the greatest share of it, as will be seen in the sequel. This commerce consists chiefly in gold, slaves, morphil, or ivory, variety of odoriferous gums, as myrrh, frankincense, besides a prodigious quantity of that which is known by the name of gum Arabic, because first brought hither from Arabia, and said to be much preferable to that of Africa; though, if we may believe father Labat, they are the very same.

Gum Arabic how far superior to that of Africa.

All the difference between the former and the latter is merely accidental, and principally owing to the vast decay of its traffick in Arabia, ever since the French company hath exported such vast quantities of it from the Senega into Europe. The Provençals and others, who imported that of Arabia, have taken the advantage of picking out only the best for export, that is, that which is most transparent, clear, in the largest lumps, and freest from dross, in order to keep up its old reputation and excessive price; whilst the Senega company, who have a more abundant vent for it all over Europe, send it hither unpicked, and just as the Moors bring it to the factories^m; and as they purchase it from them for mere trifles, so they afford it a vast deal cheaper than the other can be sold. We shall not here enter into a detail of the various uses it is of to Europeans, nor of the many medicinal and other virtues which are attributed to it, which have made them so eager to get settlements along that river, merely for the sake of its gainful traffic. One particular use we cannot forbear taking notice of, which the Moors, and especially the Negroes, make of it, because we know of no other author but the last quoted, who hath mentioned it; viz. that it is their chief provision when they travel, and at other times too, and that not through pinching hunger, but choiceⁿ. It eats, however, more pleasantly when diluted a little in water, or other more palatable liquor, by reason of its natural insipidity; but in either way it is reckoned a wholesome nourishment.

The frequent food of the negroes.

The tree on which it grows, like that of Arabia, is small, bushy, and thorny, and its leaves long and narrow. The blossoms consist of five small white leaves, which form a kind of cup, filled with stamina of the same colour, which inclose the pod in which the seeds are con-

The tree ascribed.

^m Relat. de Afriq. vol. i. cap. 19.
ⁿ Marmol, Dapper, Davity, Linschot, & al.

▪ Marmol, Dapper, Da-

tained. These are small, round, and hard, and of a blackish colour, and serve to propagate the species. The tree yields its gum either by natural transpiration, or by incision, twice a year, between the two tropics. There are whole forests of them in many parts of Africa, especially along the south side of the Niger, or Sanaga, where some tribes of Moors and Arabs inhabit, the former in villages, and the latter in tents, who gather and bring it to the European factories, as well as to other interlopers, of which there are great numbers, as well as on that of Gambia, who will run any risk for that gainful commodity.

*Commodities
exported
from Eu-
rope.*

The African trade promotes a vast consumption and vent of our European commodities and manufactures, as those of filken, woollen, linen, and dying, those of iron and copper wrought into a great variety of utensils, as pots, basons, pans, axes, cutlasses, scymitars, guns, pistols, and other fire-arms, and warlike weapons and ammunition, as also knives, scissars, razors, and other cutlery, needles, pins, ribbands, rings, ear-rings, bracelets, little bells, and other pedlary ornaments for the women, and amongst them small looking-glasses of the ordinary sort, beads, bugles, and other such trinkets, of all sorts, sizes, and colours, besides a multitude of other knicknacks, of all which the Moors as well as Arabs are excessively fond, and greedily exchange for their more valuable commodities; to say nothing of brandy and other distilled liquors, to which they have such an irresistible liking, that they will even part with one of their children, that is, sell him for a slave, to purchase a gallon or two of that pernicious beverage ^p.

*The distinc-
tion be-
tween the
Moors and
Arabs.*

In the course of these general remarks we have frequently distinguished some of the natives by the appellation of Moors, supposing them to be the descendents of those who formerly inhabited the two Mauritanias, a different people from the Arabs or Saracens, who over-ran the Eastern parts of Africa, about the middle of the seventh century, and spread their conquests like a torrent to the farthest parts of its western coasts. These have been, ever since, so blended with them both there and on the eastern side, and adopted so many of their customs, that they are not easily distinguished by strangers, though they themselves know each other perfectly well. Some of the latter forsook their wandering life, and settled in towns

^p Vide Leo African. Grammay, Sanut, Marmol, & al.

and villages; whilst the former exchanged their settled habitations for a wandering life. Hence it is that many of our African writers make no other difference between Arabs and Moors, but which results from their origin and new African habitations, supposing them to be both of Saracenic extract; whilst the original Africans are confounded and lost between the two names. By the word Maur, or Maure, they commonly understood, not an African, but a professor of Mohammedism; and to turn Maure was to turn Mohammedan, whatever the term might have meant before. It is true indeed, these Arabs were the people who first introduced Mohammedism into this country; but it would be absurd to suppose that they could extirpate all the old inhabitants. It is more reasonable to think that a great number of them would naturally endeavour to save themselves by flight, and find a safe retreat among the vast ridges of almost inaccessible mountains which extend through several parts of that vast country. Some authors suppose that the Berberes, now settled on and about the Greater and Lesser Atlas, were some of those native fugitives; though nothing can be concluded about them with any certainty^a.

Maure, a term used to signify a Mohammedan.

Berberes on or about the two Atlas's.

Be that as it will, we are pretty sure that the Africans did not receive either Mohammed's Koran, or the manners and customs of his followers, but by mere force; and it must have been a very considerable force, which could cause so great and extensive a change, even to the very language among such a variety of nations; and this not in Africa alone, but in Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and other parts of Asia, where Mohammedism had taken root; we mean the Arabic, as the only natural tongue of the three Arabias, but since spread through all those regions, as well as through Tripoly, Tunis, Algiers, Egypt, Morocco, and other vast tracts which lie between the Nile and the Niger, and even to the coasts of Abex and Ajan, in all which, though it is not spoken with the same purity, but is, in many of them, disfigured by a variety of dialects, it is yet easily distinguished under all those disguises, and every where preserved more or less pure among all that vast multitude of nations and people; so that it is justly esteemed the most extensive tongue in the whole world^r. But what hath contributed most to

Arabic tongue spread through Africa and Asia.

How preserved.

^a De his, conf. auct. sup. citat. Dapper, Labat, & al. ^r De hac, vide Grammay, Jarric, Leo Africanus, Marmol, Davity, Dapper, & alib. mult.

its preservation, is the Koran's being written in Arabic only, which is therefore become the learned tongue of all the Mohammedans, in which that book is to be read to the people, and expounded by their doctors to those who do not understand the sense of it.

*Arabs,
their ex-
tract and
classes.*

We have given, in a former part of this work, a full account of the modern Arabs, their extract, tribes, government, laws, chiefs, wars, manners, and way of life, from which it appears, in all these respects, excepting that of religion, they have never deviated from the primitive practices of their progenitor, during the long space of near four thousand years. Those that invaded and settled themselves in this country of Africa, being descended from the same stock, and brought up in the same way, have not proved altogether so tenacious of it as they; but some part of them have been prevailed upon, whether out of necessity or choice, to degenerate from it more or less; so that they appear as divided into three classes, between whom there hath not subsisted, since that difference, either commerce or friendship; but, on the contrary, such a settled hatred and contempt for each other, as hath quite erased all the relics of their ancient consanguinity.

*Why hate-
ful to each
other.*

*Town
Arabs why
despised.*

The first of these classes consists of those who have wholly abandoned their old wandering life, and settled themselves in towns and villages, where they apply themselves to traffic, and some sorts of manufactures, or handicrafts. But these are the least numerous, and the most despised, of the three. Amongst them are some who apply themselves to learning, and frequent the courts of princes; on which account, it is likely, the whole tribe or class is branded with the name of Hadaran, or courtiers, and looked upon by the rest with the utmost contempt, as the most degenerate from the nobility of their ancestors; especially on account of their frequent inter-marriages with the Africans*.

*Arab gra-
ziers de-
spised.*

The second class is that of those who have fixed habitations, and employ themselves in agriculture, and breeding camels, horses, and cattle of all sorts. These are likewise despised as bastards and spurious, unworthy of the name of Arabs. Among these we may reckon those who live between Numidia and Libya, who are wild and brutish, as well as more stout and martial, yet carry on a

* Marmel Afric. lib. i. c. 27.

great traffic into Negroland of Barbary horses and camels of their own rearing, and are excessively fond of hunting wild asses, ostriches, and other savage creatures^t.

But the most considerable class, is constituted of those who live in deserts and tents, and in a state of freedom, scorning all subjection to any but their own cheyks, or chiefs of their tribes or families. This is a privilege they claim as granted to their progenitor by God himself, and descended from him to his numerous posterity. No wonder, therefore, they have been always so jealous of it, that they have never been subdued to this day, by any potentate or conqueror, though many considerable and strenuous attempts have been made by several emperors and other powerful princes, not only to subdue, but even to extirpate them, on account of their continual robberies and depredations; for which they were the more hated as well as dreaded by the rest of the world, as they claimed a divine charter for it as derived to them from Ishmael^u.

*Wandering
Arabs the
most digni-
fied.*

*Live wholly
upon
plunder.*

This is one main motive of their chusing to live in tents, and to change their habitations; for should they venture to shut themselves up in towns, they know but too well what risk they would run continually of being surpris'd, and how dreadful the consequence would be to them and their families, if they fell into strange hands, they who never gave quarter to those they encountered. Their life is a life of constant fear and dread; they must be ever upon the watch, and ready to take the alarm, whether it be to seize some new booty, or to avoid some threatening danger; if the latter, they must make all possible dispatch to decamp, and go in search of some new shelter for themselves, their wives, children, cattle, and other effects. As they cannot subsist, nor move their quarters without camels and other beasts of burthen, they are obliged frequently to shift their camps, in quest of fresh pasture; without which it would be impossible for their numerous herds, and even for themselves, to subsist, because their milk is the main part of their sustenance. These frequent decampments oblige them more-

*Their tents
and habi-
tations fit-
ted their fre-
quent mo-
tions.*

^t Dapper, & al.

^u Genesis, xvi. 12.

they are proof against the heaviest rains, which fall, in most parts of Africa, very violent, during some certain seasons. The other sort are rather a portable kind of huts, made of the barks of trees, or of some proper woods, so contrived as to be quickly set up or taken down, and laid on a camel's back. Both sorts are of a round form, and end in a cone, under which is placed the chimney, which serves them also instead of windows, to let the air and light in, there being no other way for them to come in at but that and the door, which is so low, that one must stoop quite double to go in and out; and both that and the chimney must be close stopped in the time of the great rains, or in excessive cold weather, which they have at some seasons of the year, even where they lie between the tropics."

*Oblong
tents.*

Those who live in towns and villages, and are more at their ease, have their tents and habitations much more convenient and spacious. These are of an oblong oval figure, supported in the center by one, two, or three standing posts, on which the whole fabric depends. They are made larger or smaller according to the number of people in the family, and divided into several apartments only by carpets, which may be drawn close or open at pleasure. Some have besides lesser tents or huts for the women and children, especially when the family is large.

The pillars which support the whole are about ten feet high, and three or four inches in diameter, and full of hooks, on which they hang their clothes, arms, saddles, baskers, and other lumber: as for the rest of their household furniture it is pretty much of the same homely nature with that of the African Moors, lately described. They lie on the bare floor, or on a mat, or, at best, a carpet or skin, without pillow, mattresses, or other covering than their hayks, which they wear about them. Those who are married have each a corner or nook of the tent cantoned off; while the rest lie in any other part, whether middle or sides. So that, upon the whole, these tents, on the outside, resemble much the figure of a ship turned upside down, and in the inside of a lumber-room, wherein men, women, children, and horses, are all stowed together.

*Figure on
the outside
and inside.*

*Slavish
employ-
ments of the
women.*

The women have not only the sole care and management of these houses, and of the rest of the family affairs, but

W Marmol, Leo Africanus, Grammay, Davity, Dapper, Labat. Linschot, & al. plur.

descend

descend likewise to the most slavish employments, much after the same manner as those of the Moors. They grind, bake, brew, and dress all the victuals for the household; they fetch wood and water for their service, and milk the cattle; they do not indeed dig, sow, and reap, like the Moorish wives, because these Arabs neither allow of it, nor stay long enough in one place to reap the benefit of it; but they take the whole care of their husbands' horses; they feed, curry, and comb, bridle and saddle them. The huts, or tents, are kept as mean within as they appear without; the Arabs affecting the utmost plainness in their furniture, so it be neat and clean. Their hearths are in the middle of the tent, round which they sit, eat, drink, and smok in the day, and lie and sleep at nights, and upon no better beds than mats, or at best the furs of wild beasts which they kill in hunting. The rest of their furniture chiefly consists in some pots, pans, dishes, plates, a wooden pestle and mortar to pound their maize, and portable ovens to bake in^a. If they are extravagant in any thing it is in their own dress, and that of their women, the sumpter and ornaments of their horses and weapons; on all which they bestow the greatest cost they can afford, in gold, silver, and precious stones, according to their rank and wealth.

Their women are fond of adorning themselves about the head, neck, arms, and legs, with gold chains, pearls, beads of several rich materials, and, where these cannot be had, with those of coral, crystal, bugles, and other trinkets of a more ordinary nature; the greatest part of which are the product of their plundering trade, or, at best, of their commerce with other Africans; in which these seldom part with any gold, but get as much as they can from them, and bestow the greatest part of it in rings, ear-rings, collars, bracelets, and other ornaments for their wives and daughters. All the three classes of Arabs have one good quality with regard to their wives; viz. that, excepting the slavish work they lay upon them, they are, in all other respects, very fond and obliging to them. Even those we style of the wandering kind, in spite of their natural fierceness, are most obliging to, and tender of them; and it is seldom known that they treat them ill, except they give them cause of jealousy; even in this case the husband needs not use any other severity than to send her to her parents or relations, who will not fail, if she be guilty, to

Dress and ornaments of the women.

Husbands kind and obliging to them.

^a Shaw's Travels, p. 291, & seq. & al. sup. citat.

revenge the affront done to him and her family, with poison, dagger, or some other speedy death; the dread of which makes them so exceedingly reserved and cautious, of giving the least umbrage, that instances of that kind are seldom heard of amongst them. This reserve is the more extraordinary, considering the heat of their country, which is so apt to kindle such a spirit of jealousy in the men, and that of intrigue and wantonness in the women, as is commonly attended with the worst and most dreadful consequences, of which we shall have occasion to give pregnant examples among the Turks and Moors, and even in much more moderate climates; whilst those of either class of the Arabs are here every where free from such family disorders, and their wives extolled for their conjugal loyalty, prudence, and reserved behaviour.

*Reserved-
ness of the
women.*

These never appear abroad without their veils, which are large enough to cover their faces and hands; and stir not out, unless when the cares or affairs of the family oblige them to go forth. And such is the reservedness of the men, that they always turn aside whenever they meet with any in their way; an effectual expedient to prevent jealousies and quarrels between the husbands; who, on their part, seem so combined against all accidents of this kind, that, if any of them should be observed to cast the least indecent glance upon any of that sex, he must expect nothing but to be publicly exposed, if not severely punished for it by her relations. Their houses, or tents, in which the women live, are interdicted to all men except their husbands; and if any of these are so poor as not to have a separate tent, or hut, for their wives, they will sooner be contented to receive their visitors, or transact any business without, in the open air, than to suffer them to come in, unless it be a parent, or very near relation ^b.

*No men ad-
mitted into
their tents.*

And hence it is that we do not meet with any author of credit who pretends to tell us whether they are handsome or homely; yet, if one may guess of them by the men and boys, who are generally well shaped and featured, though the former scarcely exceed the middle size, one may reasonably suppose their females to be no less agreeable in proportion, though both sexes are of a very swarthy complexion, and the men probably more so than the women, as being more exposed than they to the burning rays of the sun.

*Complexion
swarthy,
shape, fea-
tures, &c.*

^b Marmol, Leo African. Grammay, & al. sup. citat.

Next to their wives the Arabs set the greatest value on, and have shewn a more than ordinary fondness for, their horses, or, to speak more truly, of their mares, which they greatly prefer to their horses, not only on account of their milk, which is part of their meat and drink, but much more on account of their colts, which are in such high request, that they sell them for very considerable sums. Add to this, that their mares are found to be more lively, gentle, tractable, and sure footed. These they admit into their tents, and suffer them and their colts to lie with their wives and children, either loose, or at most with their colt tied by one leg to some of the tent posts; whilst the old ones, when lain down, commonly serve for a bolster, or pillow for their master's children, without any accident or danger. In return for this singular gentleness, their masters take delight in loading them with caresses, of which those creatures seem excessively fond, as well as other marks of their love, and even seek them out, when at liberty, and court them for fresh instances of it^c.

*Fondness
for their
mares.*

*Let them
lie in their
tents with
their wives
and chil-
dren.*

They are no less nice and careful in the choice and preservation of their breed, and more exact in keeping the genealogy of their horses than their own; for it is that principally which raises the value of them, especially when the owner can make it appear that any of them is fleet enough to out-run an ostrich. They are in general neither very high nor fat, but well shaped and sleek, and easily kept in good order. They are never shod; their common food is grass half dried and large millet; and, in the spring, they are put to grass for a month, during which they are never mounted.

*Keep their
genealogies.*

Their food.

The usual dress of the men is a kind of shirt next to the skin, and a large pair of drawers, long enough to cover their ancles, the shirt hanging over the drawers about two inches above the knees. Over this the richer sort wear a kind of short jacket, which they call kaftan, with long and narrow sleeves, without hooks or buttons, which lappeth over their breast, and is girt with a broad sash, that goes several times round their body. This kaftan is commonly of some fine cloth or serge; and sometimes, though rarely, of silk; but among the meaner sort, of a blue or black cotton cloth; as for the poorer sort, they wear neither kaftan nor shirt, but cover their bodies with an ordinary linen cloth, over their drawers. As they have

*Dress of the
men of
rank.*

not the use of belts, they commonly wear the scimeter, or cutlass, stuck in between the girdle and the kaftan. Their girdles, which are long and wide, are either of silk or cotton, and knit in a kind of net-work by the women, or of some soft thin kind of leather, curiously embroidered. They hang, besides, to their girdles their purses and handkerchiefs; the former serve instead of pockets, wherein they put their pipes, tobacco, and other necessities; the latter they use instead of towels to wipe their hands, faces, and blow their noses; upon which account the politer sort chuse to have two, and the rest content themselves with having them made longer than broad, and allot each part of it to its respective use. The use of stockings is hardly known in Africa, except among the Europeans: instead of shoes, they wear a kind of socks of fine red Morocco leather, which reach up to the ankle; and some of the better sort have a kind of flat pumps over them, of the same leather and colour, when they go abroad; and when they ride they slip on a thin pair of boots of the same manufacture; but the common people usually go bare-legged and bare-headed; and in some parts of Africa, as in Abissinia, none but the emperor himself, or those who are privileged to it by him, are allowed to wear any thing over their heads: but it is otherwise with the Arabs, especially those of the wandering class, who live at large, and whose cheyks, or chiefs, and other distinguished officers, adorn their heads with red caps, incircled by several rounds of fine white cotton, in the fashion of a turban. These moreover wear over their kaftans a sayk, or wide furout, without sleeves, of white woollen cloth or serge, closely woven and napped, but with a long cape or capuchin, at the end of which is fastened behind a pretty long tuft or tassel, and is designed to be clapped over their turban in rainy or bad weather. When they are on horseback they carry their weapons before them, across the saddle-bow, and only hold the zagay, or short lance, in the hand.

*Turban
and other
ornaments.*

*Dress of
the women
of rank.*

Their women wear long drawers, and shifts over them, with wide sleeves next their skin. These, among the Moors, are made of linen, but the Arabs seldom wear any but woollen, made in the form of a gauze of various colours, and the wide sleeves without any fold at the wrist. Those of the maidens are made of needle-work, striped with linen or silk, like those which the king's daughters among the Jews are said to have worn: but when the women are at home in private, they commonly throw off

their

their hayks and drawers, and, in their stead, only bind a towel about their loins and middle. Some dowars, or as they are vulgarly called, hords of Arabs, observe a superstitious custom, which is, that every bridegroom and bride are to put on one of those shirts above described, on the day of their nuptials, which are not to be pulled off, or washed, as long as they last ^z. Their kaftan is girt to their bodies with a sash or girdle, like that of the men, but commonly richer, and of greater variety of colours or embroidery; and, instead of a sayk, the female wears a large mantle or robe, of a rich azure hue, which comes down to her feet. Their heads and hands are covered with a veil, their ears, neck, and breast, arms, wrists, and almost every finger, down quite to their very ankles, are adorned with rings of gold, silver, coral, ivory, amber, and other materials. Among some of them the rings that surround their ankles are embellished with little silver or brass bells, like those we put about the neck of a squirrel or lap-dog; and their feet are covered with the same red Morocco socks, or pumps, as those of the men. This must, however, be understood only of the women of the higher sort; for as to those of meaner rank, they have nothing better to cover their bodies than a piece of cloth, which they wrap about their breast, and goes no lower than their knees, leaving the rest quite bare. As for their ornaments, they are of the lowest value, consisting chiefly of fishes teeth, pieces of coral or glass, which serve them instead of pearls and diamonds, to adorn their hair with, over which they wear a veil, to cover their face and necks. To supply the want of more costly finery, which they know the men to be delighted with, they use a kind of paste made of pigeon's dung, saffron, and some other ingredients, to mark not only their foreheads, cheeks, and chin, but their thighs and lower belly, with variety of figures; but as that sort of paint must be renewed every two or three days, those who cannot afford either time or cost for it, have a way of sinking those marks into the skin, by punctuation, which renders them indelible ^a. Their diet is generally mean; their bread is either of millet, maize, or rice, made into cakes, either baked on the hearth, or fried in a pan. We have described their mortars, in which the women pound their grain; but some of the better sort have mills, made of two

*And of the
meaner
sort.*

*Paint their
faces, &c.*

^z Shaw's Travels, p. 293.
ubi supra.

^a Dapper, Labat, Shaw, & al.

stones, one over the other, and turned either by hand, or perhaps by an ass; and their bread is made fresh every day.

Drink.

Their drink is commonly water; but they brew likewise a small liquor from rice, or millet, of a coarser kind, mixed with some mares or camels milk a little soured; and from the same mixture they distil likewise, in some parts of Africa, a sort of spirit, strong enough to intoxicate; though this the strict Mohammedans abstain from, as forbidden by their law. They eat fish and flesh of several kinds, but never of both sorts at one meal; nor in any large quantity: and this, most probably, is the reason why they are so healthy, strong, and lively, and free from chronic diseases, and generally live to seventy or eighty years. The greatest treat a man can give them, when they come into a town or village, is a quantity of oil and vinegar beaten together, and a hot cake dipped in it.

Hospitality.

They are no less hospitable in their own habitations to strangers who come to them, and treat them in the best manner they can, and with singular courtesy; which is so much the easier for them to do, as their manner is as plain as their fare; for, from the greatest sheyk to the lowest person, they use no other ceremony than washing their hands, after which they set themselves cross-legged around a mat, or, at best, a low table, upon which the dishes are placed, which whether boiled or roasted, or of rice or other spoon meat, are easily parted asunder with their hands, and without the help of knife or fork, whilst every one hath his handkerchief tied to his girdle to wipe his mouth and hands.

Poverty.

But as the Arabian people are dispersed through such a great variety of climates and soils, so their circumstances and way of living must greatly differ. In some parts, as in the district of Barca, in Numidia, and Libya, they are so excessively poor, through the barrenness of the ground, that they have little else but dates, and some sorts of venison, to live upon, and are often obliged to sell their children to procure the necessaries of life. Yet even these think themselves the noblest and happiest people under the sun, in spite of all their misery. Nor doth this hinder them from being more brave and courageous than the African natives, as likewise more active and industrious than they in breeding vast quantities of cattle, especially barbs, in which they traffic with the negroes. They likewise are much given to hunting various wild beasts, of which they likewise make a considerable gain. Some of them, even in those barren parts, addict themselves to the study of natural

Traffic of the Arabs.

natural philosophy, rhetoric, and poetry. Their compositions of this kind chiefly run on the subject of their warlike exploits, their various chaces, amours, and such like subjects, which they set to suitable tunes, and sing or dance to the sound of their lutes, viols, drums, and other instruments ^b.

Study of philosophy, poetry, &c. Songs and dances.

But neither this, nor physic, nor philosophy, nor arithmetic, do any of the Arabs teach as a science. They have, indeed, persons who pretend to them, and, by their practice, seem, at least, to suppose some skill in nature or the mathematics; but all this is gained only by experience, habit, or custom, assisted by strength of memory and quick invention, which few of them want so much as they do application and encouragement to cultivate and improve them. With respect to such branches of the mathematics, such at least as relate to navigation, the Arabians who trade from the Arabias to the coasts of Habesh, Ajan, and Zanguebar, were indeed found, from the first times of the Europeans doubling the Cape of Good Hope, to have had quadrants, compasses, astrolabes, and other helps, the inventions of former ages, by which they can steer along these coasts as well as to the Persian Gulph, and even to some parts of India, and were reckoned the expertest pilots on these seas; but as for those who live within the African coasts, and seldom traffic farther than from one kingdom to another, or, at most, to some of the islands adjacent, they are quite ignorant of them, and only steer from place to place by a kind of rote, which they can only gain by long practice. Even physic, a science so well understood by many of their celebrated countrymen, and so necessary in a country so unhealthy in many places, is still more neglected among them than among the native Moors. It must be owned that their being Mohammedans, and great sticklers for predestination, might inspire them with a contempt of it, seeing there are, according to them, no possible means of averting the divine will, which dispenses sickness and health, life and death, by an irreversible decree. This is, indeed, the doctrine of the Koran, and the practice of the ignorant Turks, from which however the wiser part have, of late, much receded: accordingly we find a receipt against the plague recommended by Sidy Mohammed Ze-

Study no branch of learning as a science.

^b Marmol, ubi supra, lib. i. cap. 32. Dapper, Shaw's Travels, & miscellan. observat. p. 268, & seq. ^c Shaw, Marmol, Dapper, & al.

roke, one of their most celebrated marabouts, prefaced with these remarkable words: "The lives of us all are in the hands of God, when it is written we must die. However, it hath pleased him to save many persons from the plague, by taking, every morning while the infection rages, one pill or two of the following composition; viz. of myrrh two parts, saffron one part, of aloes two parts, of syrup of myrtle berries, q. f."

*Their great
supersti-
tions, en-
grossed by
their cheat-
ing mar-
abouts.*

But the Mohammedans in Africa place more confidence in their pretended wizards, conjurers, witches, and charms, whether by way of prevention or cure, than on the most rational and experienced means. Their saints and marabouts set up for great miracle-mongers; and others for infallible diviners and divers into futurity; but all of them cheat so openly and impudently, that one cannot enough wonder at the stupidity of the people, whom nothing can divert from having recourse to them in all exigencies^d; for whether they succeed or not, kill or cure, they always make sure of their pay before-hand, and are provided with some plausible evasion to stop the mouth of their votaries, let matters turn out as they will.

*Some of
the Arabs
use physie,
&c.*

However all the Arabs are not so far bewitched by their marabouts, but many of the wiser sort, especially in Barbary and other parts of Africa, where they converse much with Europeans, have been excited to use such proper means as physie affords, instead of their superstitious and senseless charms. They have adopted a regular course of pharmacy for diseases, and surgery for wounds and sores. In the first they deal chiefly in vegetables, and in the latter in outward applications, such as cataplasms. In rheumatic or gouty pains, they cauterize with red hot needles; but know little of phlebotomy, vomiting, purging, cupping, and other branches of physie and surgery. The cautery above mentioned is made by seven punctures with a burning needle, on the parts affected, which must be repeated according to the strength of the patient, or obstinacy of the disease. A decoction of ground pine is their remedy against a fever, and a drachm or two of the root of birthwort is administered in flatulent distempers; the stone and gravel are cured by the powdered root of arisarum, and the bloody flux by the like quantity of the root of bookoka, dried in an oven, and powdered. They give little else in the small-pox than five or six grains of alkermes to force out the pustules, keeping the patient

*Their re-
medies for
the rheu-
matism,
gout, &c.*

^d Shaw, ubi supra. Dapper, & al. supra citat.

warm; and only use fresh butter to hinder the skin from pitting.

They have likewise introduced the inoculation of it among them, though in a much ruder way than that which is in use among the Chinese; for here the person receives the infection at a small wound made in the fleshy part of the hand, between the thumb and the forefinger, by means of two or three pustules taken from some infected friend, who is desired to exchange them with him for the like number of comfits, or other such trifles. But the zealous Mohammedans are great enemies to all sorts of inoculations of that distemper; and not only cry it down as an impious tempting of Providence, but tell a great number of frightful stories to deter the people from that practice.

Inoculate the small-pox.

They pretend to cure wounds received from sword or gun-shot, by pouring melted butter into them boiling hot. As for bruises, swellings, inflammations, and other ailments of that kind, they commonly assuage them with the leaves of the opuntia, or prickly-pear, roasted in embers about a quarter of an hour, and applied to the part affected as hot as it can be borne. This application is likewise reckoned very proper to suppurate and mature boils, plague-sores, and other such tumours; and hath been likewise successfully used in the gout. In slight wounds, bruises, or inflammations, either to assuage them, or to harden and consolidate the parts, some use the powdered leaves of al-hennah, made up into a pultice with warm water, which applied to the place, tinges the skin of a deep orange colour, which continues for some months; and, what is still more surprising, impregnates the blood with it, so as, in one night, to give the urine a saffron hue. So much for the physic and surgery of the Arabs ^e.

Cure of wounds, bruises, inflammations, &c.

Slight wounds.

We have elsewhere observed, that two out of the three classes are addicted to traffic of several kinds; from which one might reasonably conclude, that both numerical and algebraic arithmetic must flourish, whatever arts might be neglected, among them, seeing their ancestors are known to have furnished us with the characters of the former, and to have been the inventors of the latter, and both of them are so useful and necessary in commerce; and yet we do not find amongst those who carry on the greatest share and variety of it, one in twenty thousand that understands even the first operations of either. However, they have, it

Arithmetic understood by very few.

^e Shaw, ubi supra, p. 264. Vide & Marmol, Afric. Dapper, Labat, & al.

seems,

*A singular
method of
casting up
large sums.*

*Some of
them pre-
tend to a
profound
skill in
numbers
Their go-
vernment,
dow-wars
and cheyks,
or chiefs.*

*Their
power and
difficult of-
fice, in rais-
ing the tri-
bute.*

seems, acquired such dexterity in addition and subtraction of large sums by dint of memory, that they have fallen into a kind of method of numeration, no less sure and expeditious than singular, which is by putting their hands into each other's sleeve, and touching each other with this or that finger, or with this or that particular point of it, each of them denoting a determinate sum or number; and in this way will transact affairs of the greatest consequence or value, without speaking a word on either side, or letting the bye-standers into the secret. Some of them, we are told, pretend to such a profound skill in the combination of numbers, that they can compose charms of them to answer any purpose ^f. All the Arabs in Africa, whether they live in wandering camps or in towns and villages, whether free or tributary to some of the emperors or princes, are divided into tribes, or rather families, distinguished by the name of dow-wars; improperly termed by some, hords, and hoards, andowards, every one of which has its particular chief, or cheyk; which word implies no more than *elder*, *doctor*, or *teacher*, some of whom are so by election, and others hereditary. The cheyk's tent is, always known by its situation in the center of the dow-war, and he by his shirt and other garments, which are commonly longer and finer than those of the rest. His office is to rule over, judge and take care of the peace and prosperity of his little commonalty. These inferior cheyks are subject to a higher, styled either cheyk-el-kibbeer, *great lord*, or *elder*, or else *emeer*, or *prince*, who hath a number of dow-wars, more or less under him, according to the number of the tribe over which he presides. These command all the rest, order their expeditions, decampments, decree rewards and punishments, decide their greater controversies, whether about the division of their plunder, or disputes amongst them. And those who are under tribute to any power, as the kings of Morocco, the dey of Algiers, or other princes, levy the imposition from their vassals, and have it ready against the time in which it becomes due. This part of their office is commonly one of the most difficult, because they are usually taxed so heavily that they cannot force their inferior dow-wars to raise it, without using some severities against them; and these are attended with great feuds and quarrels, and often end in blows and heart-burnings. On the other hand, if the tribute is not ready when the officers come for it, who are

^f De his, vide Shaw, ubi supra, p. 267, & seq. & al. ubi supra.

always escorted with a little flying army, the whole tribe undergoes a severe military execution; and perhaps the cheyk emeer is put in irons, and detained close prisoner, till all is paid, with interest; to avoid which extremities, they are often forced to abandon their habitations, and remove far enough out of the reach of their tyrannic masters; whilst the scenite or wandering Arabs are not only free from such tributary exactions, but often oblige their neighbouring princes to buy their friendship by considerable yearly pensions.

These cheyks go commonly armed with short pikes or javelins; and are so expert at darting them, that they seldom if ever miss their mark, though riding on full gallop, and will kill a man at fifty, or hit the middle of a plate at forty paces distance. They also wear each a cutlass hanging on the left-arm, above the elbow, instead of a scymetar, and a quiver of arrows before him; and as they are expert at all sorts of military feats, so they are no less careful that all those under them be inured not only to the same exercises, but that they likewise train up their horses to them; so that the agility and address of the one, and the docility and fleetness of the other, whether at these exercises, or in attacking or retiring from an enemy, are justly admired by all the Europeans who have been eyewitnesses of their discipline. Their pikes are commonly between forty and fifty spans in length, well fletched at both ends, and these they couch upon their left-arm; and wound with them at a good distance; but the most dangerous blow is that which they strike whilst they retire, and when the enemy is least aware of any mischief. The best sort of those pikes are not made of ash or beech wood, but of the rool, a sort of wood very black and heavy, which is fetched from Libya, and is the most esteemed for its weight. Those who make use of these pikes are seldom seen to wear a shield, and despise the other defensatives of helmets and coats of mail, as cumbersome to their horses, and as a hindrance to their agility. For the same reason they make no use of fire-arms, knowing neither how to use them on horseback, nor how to keep them in order. They are besides excessively fearful of the fire. Some of their wiser cheyks have procured musqueteers to intermix with them, in order to familiarise them to that way of fighting; but their musquets were so soon out of order, that they readily exchanged them for their old weapons; and it is far from improbable that their wives, who usually go with them in their wars, were equally, if not more, terrified

Their weapons, and way of fighting.

Manner of wounding.

Fear of fire-arms.

*Their
wives go
with them
to war.*

rified with the strange effects of those arms, than their husbands, and might prove more forward in spoiling than in preserving them, in order to discourage their farther use. However that be, they are to be found but among few of their tribes, and they are returned to their old way of fighting. They generally make a furious onset; but when attacked, or in danger of being overpowered, they suddenly disperse, in order to avoid the first assault; then rallying, return to the charge with incredible celerity. It is in those feigned retreats, that they do the greatest execution against those who are unacquainted with their manner. Upon the whole, provided there be no fire-arms used against them, they break through the enemy's squadrons with equal swiftness and intrepidity. When they engaged Christians, or any other enemy who knew the use of them, they chiefly aimed at wounding or killing their horses, as well knowing that their armour was proof against their weapons. But since that hath been in a great measure left off, and they have been more used to guns and muskets, they have here also resumed their old way of fighting, and practise it with good success. Upon the whole, they are so inured to this warlike trade from their infancy, that they look upon it as their chiefest bliss, and pursue it with a kind of natural intrepidity and bravery; and are so far persuaded that Providence ordained it for them, that they never begin an expedition or an attack, nor, indeed, any other of their daily employments, without repeating, with great seriousness and reverence, the words *Bish-Millah, in the name of God*; nor conclude any, especially if successfully, without crying out, in the same devout tone, *Almandi'llah, God be praised*^h.

*Chief di-
versions.*

Next to their warlike expeditions, their chief and most delightful occupation is hunting and racing, at both which they are no less expert, having little or no relish for domestic affairs, and being rarely known to converse with their wives or children, but placing their chief satisfaction in being on horseback, and at a distance from home: so that whenever they are deprived of any of these excursions or pastimes abroad, the time goes sluggishly on with them, and is spent in smoking their pipes, or reposing under some neighbouring shade, and entertaining one another with the idle chat of their own exploits.

*Hunting
the lion.*

When the business is to hunt the lion, the whole dow-war, or *disfriet*, is summoned to appear; who forming

^h Shaw, ubi supra, & al. sup. citat.

themselves into a circle, inclose a space of three or four miles in compass, according to the quality of the ground or number of the people, some on foot, and some on horseback. The former advance first, and penetrate the thickets, with their hounds and spears to rouse the game; whilst the horsemen, keeping at some distance behind, are ready to charge upon the first sally of the wild beast. In this manner they proceed, and still contract their circle, till they either come to close all together, or meet with the game. This sport frequently affords variety of pastime, from the different kinds of animals, which are contained within that circle; so that they are often in chace after hares, jackalls, hyenas, and others of the wild kind. As to the lion that is roused up with them, it is, we are told, the nature of that fierce animal, on such occasions, to seize on the nearest person, and hold him fast till he is either cut in pieces, or shot to death.

Another of their pastimes is hawking; the country not only affording great plenty of game, but likewise variety of hawks and falcons, which they breed up to that sport in their own peculiar way: for they do not there make use of dogs to spring the game, but of a piece of oblong canvass stretched out upon two reeds, in the shape of a door, behind which they conceal themselves from it, and walk through the several brakes and avenues to the place where they expect to find it. The canvass is either spotted or painted in the figure of a leopard, and a little below the top is one or more holes, through which the sportsman sees what passes before him; at the approach of which the woodcock, partridge, and other gregarious birds, will, though at ever so great a distance before, covey together; whilst the quail and other kinds which go not in flocks, will only stand still and stare, and are easily shot. Others have a more laborious method of catching partridges in great numbers; for observing, that the oftener and more hastily they are sprung, the more weary and languid they grow, they swiftly rush upon and knock them down with their zervaties, or short truncheons¹.

*Hawking**Manner of killing partridges.*

Another of their pastimes is, for one Arab, or even a whole dow-war to visit another. In these cases they still use many of the ancient ceremonies and compliments which were in use among the old patriarchs; such as bringing of water to wash their feet, giving each other

*Manner of visiting and entertaining each other.*¹ Shaw, *ibid*.

the shalom, to stand and wait upon their guests, instead of sitting down at table with them; and to enquire after the welfare of each other's families, and every individual belonging to them. But in this particular the Arabs exceed them in courtesy, so far that they will not disdain to enquire after the welfare of their servants, domestic animals, flocks, herds, poultry, and whether their dogs are watchful of their charge, keep away the foxes from their hen-roosts, give notice of the approach of lions and other ravenous beasts; whether their cats still wage a faithful war against mice, rats, serpents, and other vermin, and many more questions of the like nature: and at parting they express the same good wishes for the welfare of them all.

Their marriages.

Their marriages differ but little from those of the Moors, already described; and are little else than a downright bargain between the father of the future bride and her future husband. They consist chiefly in the young man's paying so many camels, horses, sheep, and cows, to the woman's father. As soon as that purchase is concluded, the young man is allowed to visit his future bride, in her own separate tent, where she is ready to receive him, in the best apparel and ornaments she can afford. Here her father discloses the matter to her; and, among other inducements, acquaints her with the number of cattle he hath engaged to pay for the possession of her; to which he makes answer, that a prudent and virtuous wife can never be too dearly bought. Among some of them he is not even permitted to see her till he hath paid the full price; so that he is obliged to rely on the report which his mother or some female relation makes of her. If she doth not answer his expectations, he may indeed divorce her; but he must then forfeit all that he hath paid for her purchase, which still falls heavier upon the purchaser; but, at the same time, shews that the parents know much better than we in Europe how to set a true value upon their daughters, instead of parting with such vast sums as we do, to get rid of them. This is likewise a relic of the ancient patriarchal way of marrying; which they farther imitate in making presents both to the bride, and to some of her near relations, if not of jewels and costly ornaments, yet of such as their circumstances will admit of, over and above the stipulated price. After these articles have been thus far performed, the bride still continues some time with her father, where she receives the congratulations and good wishes of her female friends;

Their wives bought.

How conducted to their new home.

friends; after which she is conducted by them to her new spouse, either on horseback, or in a sedan, carried between two camels, with loud acclamations and songs. There she is received by his female relations, in the same joyful strain. Upon her alighting, a stick is put into her hand, which she sticks as deep into the ground as she can, in token, that, as it cannot be removed without some hand to pluck it up, so she will not abandon her husband, unless he divorce her from him. From thence she is immediately hurried away to the herds, where she is set to milk some of the camels or cows, dress some of the horses, or perform some other branch of family duty, before she is admitted into her tent. When she hath performed all these first essays, she is introduced into it, and there received by her spouse, and doth not stir out of it, nor uncovers her face before any but him, till the first month is over; after which she enters into the family business, like the rest of the good Arabian wives¹.

Their reception and office there.

When an Arab dies, the women who inhabit that tent or hut alarm the whole dow-war with their loud outcries and lamentations, and are quickly joined in the same hideous chorus by the rest of the females belonging to it. All this while those of kin to the deceased are busying themselves within, with washing the body, and dressing it in a decent manner; and others sing the praises of the defunct in so mournful a tone, and with such floods of tears, as if they were most sensibly affected with the loss. To behold the whole ceremony of howling, weeping, clapping of hands, beating of breasts, tearing of hair, haggard looks, and contortions of the body, one would be apt to imagine that the whole female dow-war was plunged into the deepest grief; yet is all this mere custom and grimace, to which they are so inured from their childhood, that they can, with the greatest ease, pass from acting the deepest scenes of mourning to one of the greatest jollity and mirth. As to the men, even the nearest relations to the deceased, whatever their inward grief may be, are above expressing it in any other way than a grave and composed behaviour; and in this silent guise they follow the corpse to some neighbouring eminence, where, having dug a grave, they deposit it, and cover it with earth; then they rear a heap of stones over it, which

Funeral obsequies.

Mourning of the women a mere sham.

¹ Leo, Grammay, Dapper. Labat, & al.

*Why they
have no
mosques.
Yet careful
of their re-
ligious du-
ties.*

serves at once for a monument, and a defence from carnivorous beasts.

Though these wandering Arabs are almost all Moham-medans, yet they have not any mosques through all this vast continent. They content themselves with saying their prayers in their tents, after having first washed themselves as usual, where water can be had, or, where that fails, rubbed themselves all over with sand or dust. The case, however, is otherwise with the two other classes, already spoken of, who live in towns and villages, and want neither the one nor the other, and are employed either in trade or commerce, or follow agriculture and breeding cattle; for these, especially the latter, who are commonly seated along the rivers for the sake of commerce as well as pasturage, have every where their places of worship. And yet it is a question whether these or the other class, which may be more properly styled merchants, are so zealous observers of their law as those of the wandering kind, who live mostly on rapine. It is true, indeed, that the mercantile part of them are less given to motion, though on different errands, and travel as much from one kingdom to another, in quest of gain, as the other doth after plunder. Their favourite traffic is that of gold; of which they are the more greedy, as the natives do not suffer them to settle where there are any mines of that precious metal; and as the Europeans, with whom they traffic, are very careful not to bring any to them; for which reason they are content to undertake the longest and most difficult as well as dangerous voyages into the kingdoms of Tambut, Galaam, Gago, &c. where it is found in great plenty, and exchanged with the inhabitants for cloaths, trinkets, iron and brass tools and utensils, and other commodities of small value. They scruple not to carry it off by main force, where they are strong enough, and even the very owners themselves, and sell them for slaves. So that, in the main, their intentions on this kind of traffic are not one jot honefter than those of their wandering brethren, for they are equally ready to trade or plunder, as occasion offers; and are as arrant Arabs as they. If there be any difference between them, it is only this, that the one is of a more martial and fierce disposition, the other more sordid and greedy after gain, in acquiring which, they will submit to the lowest arts, or undergo the greatest fatigues and dangers.

In carrying on this traffic, with the kingdoms above mentioned, their caravans perform a journey of near seven hundred leagues; passing through a vast sandy desert, near two hundred leagues in length, in which no water is to be found, except in two places, and in very deep wells, often choaked up with sand; which being, with great difficulty and labour dug out, the water at the bottom comes up so brackish and so unpleasant and unwholesome, that nothing but mere necessity, and the unavoidable danger of perishing through excessive thirst, can make it go down, even with their camels, the only beast of burthen fit for such journies. These wells are very difficult to be found, and, if missed, or passed over, a number of people must be dispatched backward and forward, as well as to the right and left, to find them out, or the whole caravan must inevitably perish. To avoid which, they are obliged to steer by the compass, as is done at sea, and with much greater caution, and be provided with expert land pilots, who are well acquainted with that route.

Difficulties attending the Arabian caravans.

But the most dreadful of all dangers, are the frequent tempests with which this sandy sea is equally agitated as the ocean, occasioned by vehement winds, which raise and whirl the sand to such a height and length, as often overwhelms a whole caravan, and buries them alive beyond all possible recovery. To avoid which disasters, the Arabs take care to chuse the most gentle seasons, and such as long experience hath taught are least liable to these furious whirlwinds; that is, a month before and after the two solstices; but they never venture at those of the two equinoxes, when these winds are observed to rage most ^k.

Danger from tempests and quicksands.

Those rich and opulent kingdoms above mentioned, have been hitherto unknown not only to the Europeans, but in a great measure also to the Africans, or to any but the Arabians, who are too sordid and reserved in matters of self-interest to give the least intelligence either about them or the way that leads to them. One thing we may be sure of is, that the traffic with them must be very considerable, to answer such a long and fatiguing voyage, and the vast risques and dangers of it. Accordingly we are told that they bring away great quantities of gold, besides

Places where they trade.

Nature and gainfulness of their traffic.

^k Labat, ubi supra, Leo, Marmol, Grammay, Dapper, & al. plur.

ivory of the whitest kind, bezoar, civet, and a great number of slaves, whom they load homeward with those commodities, instead of their camels, which they leave behind to starve at large. In exchange for those valuables they carry thither vast quantities of salt, which those kingdoms very much want, besides cloaths, and a great variety of trinkets, which they traffic for with the Europeans. And we are farther told, that the Arabs settled along the southern coasts, carry on much the same gainful trade with the inland kingdoms on that side; the inhabitants of them being either too proud or insolent to stir out of their country on any such errand, as long as they can have those European commodities brought to them from other parts of Africa. Though the Arabs drive such a large commerce in slaves, yet they will never part with any of them to the Europeans. These they look upon as infidels, to whom, they think, it would be the greatest cruelty to sell a Mohammedan, though at ever so high a price. This scruple, which is so detrimental to that branch of the African traffic, all the merchants in that kind of commodity, have often tried all their address to cure them of, but hitherto in vain.

*Elephants,
why spared
by the
Arabs.*

These Arabs also abstain from the ivory trade, out of a superstitious notion, instilled into them by their phara-saical marabouts, that the touch of any part of that dead animal causes a legal defilement. On which account they never attempt to kill the elephants, but let them range at liberty in vast droves without molesting them, unless, as they frequently are apt to do, they break into their sown fields before they have got in their harvest. Even then they content themselves with driving them out with lighted straw, which frights them away, without doing any other harm. This notion prevents the great destruction which would otherwise be made of that noble animal, and the exportation of so great a quantity of their teeth, as well as of the African slaves. But this deficiency is abundantly made up by the Negroes, Moors, and other natives, who being less scrupulous in such matters, destroy myriads of the former in a year, and live partly on their flesh, and make no conscience to sell their countrymen, and even relations, to the Christians, though they look upon that state as the most dreadful and miserable that can happen to them in this life; it being the common notion deeply rooted amongst them, that the Europeans buy them to fatten and feast on, and afterwards to burn

burn their bones, with which they make charms and incantations¹.

Having now given an account of what is most worthy of notice with relation to the African natives, as well as Arabs, we shall next take a short review of the various kinds of animals which this country produces. From the remotest times it has been famed for nourishing a much greater quantity of animals of the monstrous kind, than any other in the world. We shall, however, be readily excused by our readers from entering into an enquiry how far the causes Pliny and other naturalists have assigned for such unnatural births, will stand the test of reason and experience, as well as from examining whether the half of what we read concerning them be really fact or not; such enquiries would carry us beyond our stated bounds, and are more properly the business of naturalists. Our's, therefore, shall be chiefly to give a succinct account of the animal productions peculiar to this country: to avoid needless repetitions, we shall confine ourselves to a general account of them in this place, and defer the farther description of such as, for their curiosity, deserve a particular investigation, to those countries in which they either most abound or excel. The same method we shall observe with relation to mountains, rivers, lakes, and other particulars of this large continent.

We begin with their tame quadrupeds, of which there is a great abundance, not only of those which are to be found in Europe and Asia, and in much more numerous herds, but in many parts of Africa likewise much larger, stronger, fatter, and better relished than our's, particularly the bulls, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, and deer^m. Their horses are indeed smaller, but finely shaped, fleet, and of beautiful colours. Some authors have questioned whether these last were natives of Africa, or only brought thither since the arrival of the Arabs in these parts. These are indeed the best breeders and expertest masters in breaking and riding them; but from the great multitudes and variety that run wild in many parts of the country, where those Arabs have not yet penetrated, one would be apt to conclude, that the natives had them long before that time; though those of the Arabs, especially the barbs, are by far the finest and most esteemed, not by them only, but by strangers of every country. They exceed in swiftness

*Africa
famed for
wild
beasts.*

*Tame
beasts.*

*Their
horses ex-
cellent.*

¹ De hoc, vide Cavaz. Congo, lib. ii. p. 54, & seq. & al. supra citat. ^m Leo Africanus, Marmol. Pigafetta, & al. ubi supra.

all other creatures, except the dant, or, as the Arabs call it, lant, a wild beast, of which we shall speak in the sequel.

*Camels,
their use-
fulness.*

The camel, though not peculiar to Africa, is one of the most useful and necessary animals in it, not only on account of the great loads it is able to carry above other beasts of burden, but for its singular tractableness, patience, and abstinence, being brought up to travel for months together, through the hottest sands and barren deserts, with their heavy burthens, and with so small an allowance of food or water, as would sustain no other living creature. Without their help the vast commerce, which is carried on from one place to another in large caravans, must soon be at an end; without them, the wild Arabs would neither be able to remove their families, habitations, and lumber, so frequently, or so far as they commonly do, and many other branches of their service would the natives of those hot climates be deprived of in peace as well as in war. We shall not take up our reader's time with the description of this most useful animal, as its shape and size are sufficiently known; and we shall have so frequent occasion to speak of its singular use and laborious services through the course of this African history, not only as a beast of burthen, but on account of its milk, which yields an excellent drink, and of its flesh, which is the chief food of the natives, especially of the Arabs. They are commonly long-lived, some say as far as to a hundred years, if not abused, as they too frequently are by their inhuman owners (U).

*Dromedaries used
for swift-
ness.*

The dromedary, a smaller and more slender species of camel, is no less useful a creature for its swiftness than the other for its carriage, and is commonly used for expedition. It will travel forty leagues per day, for ten days together, with the smallest pittance of barley and water. It hath, moreover, a back suited for that purpose, with one or two protuberances, forming a natural saddle for the rider; and its legs are of a proper length for clearing a good deal of ground in a little time. It hath no hoofs

(U) It is allowed that the camels of Africa are preferable to those of Asia on many accounts, as their largeness, strength, and particularly their being able to travel forty, fifty, or even sixty days with little or no food; carrying burthens of six, seven, and eight hundred weight a piece, through barren burning sands, where no other beast of burthen could live.

on its feet, but a broad foot, fenced by a thick skin, which becomes callous with travelling, and renders that animal the more sure-footed. Their common height is between seven or eight feet from the bottom of the fore feet to the crown of the head. Their skin is sleek, and hair smooth; they can bear hunger, thirst, and long fatigue; and when they come to the water, which they commonly take care to trouble with their feet, they take in such plenty of it, as will serve them eight or ten days.

The next useful and profitable animals are horses, with which several parts of Africa abound, and which the Arabs in particular breed in vast numbers. They are commonly distinguished amongst us by the name of barbs, because first brought into Europe from the coasts of Barbary. They are originally natives of Arabia, and were left to run wild in the woods in numerous droves, till the Arabs first broke them to the bit, and among other countries in their neighbourhood, stocked the greatest part of this with them, where they have been in great esteem both for their beauty, swiftness, and utility. One method among the rest which the Arabs use to bring them to that extraordinary pitch of swiftness is, by feeding them morning and evening with camel's milk, and that only in such a quantity as will give strength and agility to their limbs, without encumbering them with a superfluous weight of flesh. They likewise send them into pasture as soon as the grass is full grown, and leave them there about two months, during which time they are never backed. The wild horses in Africa are of too fleet a nature to be caught in the common way. These, therefore, the wild Arabs catch alive by gins and traps laid in the sand, into which they drive them out of the woods, not so much with a view of breaking them for use, as to feast upon their flesh, which they esteem delicious; by which means they prevent their multiplying too fast upon them, and devouring the pasture, which should serve for their own cattle.^a

Other domestic animals, such as bulls and cows, asses, sheep, and goats, are here also in great plenty and variety. One large kind of cows they have, especially in Egypt, without any hair, long tails trailing on the ground, and necks spotted and streaked with various colours. Their sheep are large, and one sort of them have long fleshy tails which weigh between twenty and thirty pounds. That which we call adin-naim is of the bigness of a common

Horses.

Fine breed of barbs.

Wild horses.

Other domestic animals.

^a Leo Africanus, Marmol, Ramus. Dapper, Labat, & al.

asses, and with long ears hanging down. The males are without horns, but the females have them of various sizes and shapes. These are much esteemed by the Libyans on account of the plenty of milk they give, of which they make their cheese and butter, and common drink. Their wool, though short, is good and serviceable. Both males and females are exceeding tame and gentle, and some of them strong enough to carry considerable burthens. Among their great variety of goats, they have that kind which breeds the true bezoar, or, according to other authors, the musk; but writers disagree so much in their description, that we may justly call both in question: but whether fact or no, the creatures which bear both the one and the other run wild in the woods and deserts. There are wild bulls and cows, horses and asses, goats, and even dogs, of which there is a sort as dangerous and destructive as wolves, tigers, or leopards.

*Wild
beasts.
Elephants.*

We come now to speak of those savage animals, which this country produces in great number and variety. At the head of these we may justly place the elephant, that noble and excellent creature, celebrated as much for its surprising qualities of sense, docility, courage, and usefulness, as for its superior strength and size, above all other quadrupeds: however, in every part of this vast country, and variety of nations, it is found to be as wild, ferocious, and destructive, as any of the savage kind, none of the African inhabitants having so much as attempted to tame and render them serviceable. If we except some few that are brought up tame in the empire of Abyssinia, they are every where dreaded, and treated as the most dangerous and destructive of the whole savage species. The Africans naturally partake of, and many of them even exceed those animals in their ferocity, and we can hardly look upon them in any other light than as reciprocal objects of prey; nor be intent on any thing else than destroying them by way of reprisal for their horrid devastations, feeding on their flesh, and making a traffick of their spoils; so that myriads of them are yearly destroyed within that vast continent, even by the confession of the inhabitants, a circumstance farther confirmed by the immense quantities of ivory which are yearly exported into India and Europe from all the African coasts; so that this noble creature, so justly admired for its excellent qualities in the eastern parts of the world, is only remarkable in this for its savage and mischievous nature, and the vast slaughter which is made of them, wherever they herd; unless we add that they
are

are here much larger, taller, and stronger than those of India^o; and those of Abyssinia, Kongo, and the Cape of Good Hope, are the biggest in all Africa.

We shall conclude our account of these animals with two remarks expressive of their nature and progression. Whatever devastation they may make in sown lands, upon fruits, &c. for the sake of their sustenance, yet they never attack men or women, but will let them pass quietly by, unless they be first exasperated by some violent abuse or wound given; in which case, dreadful and almost unavoidable is the fate of those who have provoked their resentment; for, the vast bulk and unwieldiness of their bodies and limbs is so far from being an obstruction to their swiftness on such occasions, that the best runner among the natives would hardly escape being overtaken and crushed to death under their feet. The only way they have to prevent such a catastrophe is to tire them by their frequent winding from the right to the left, and from the left to the right; by which frequent turnings those creatures soon become too weary, and are forced to quit their pursuit^p.

The hunting of the elephant is reckoned a noble sport all over Africa^q, and differs in almost every country, but is generally performed with a numerous crowd, and loud and horrid shouts of the people. The most common and least dangerous way of catching them is by driving them into deep holes, made for that purpose in the earth, and covered with straw and leaves; and when the beast has fallen into the snare, the hunters pierce him all over with their sagays and other missile weapons. One elephant yields as much flesh as six large oxen. Among the rest of his spoils, the hair of his tail bears a considerable price, and is curiously woven into collars, bracelets, and other ornaments, for the noble and wealthy.

*Elephants
hunted.*

The rhinoceros, so called from its large horn on his nose, is likewise a native of Africa; and, though inferior in bulk to the elephant, yet exceeds him in the beauty and comeliness of his shape and skin, which last is strangely variegated with speckles in tufts of black and grey. His back looks as if adorned with a natural saddle, and his sides and ribs swell out as if imbossed quite down to his belly. The skin of his back is so hard, that a lance will

*Rhinoceros
described.*

^o De his, vid. Leo Africanus, lib. ix. Marmol. lib. i. cap. 23. Ramus. vol. i. pass. Purchas, Davity, Dapper, & al. plur.
^p Marmol. lib. i. cap. 23. ^q Labat ex Cavaz. lib. i. cap. 9.

scarcely

scarcely pierce it, and his hide so deeply furrowed, as if armed with scales, as commonly reported and represented by painters. His snout resembles that of a boar, on the top of which grows his horn, of a lighter or darker brown, or even black, according to his age: when full grown, it measures about four feet from the root, and ascends with an upright curve, and weighs commonly between five and six hundred pounds. His body is of the size of a middling elephant, but his legs are much shorter; his tail long like that of an ox, and his ears upright like those of the horse. We shall not enter into a more particular detail of this noble creature: its natural enmity to, and terrible fights with the elephant, and other of its exploits, of which Aristotle, Dio, Pliny, and other ancients, and many moderns, have given us a variety of accounts, which would prove a hard task to reconcile. By their being so seldom seen in Europe, one may conclude either that they are as scarce as the elephants are numerous, or else, more probably, perhaps, that they chiefly harbour in deserts and unfrequented places, where living chiefly upon such diet as thistles, docks, and other coarse fare, their tongue and palate acquire such a strange roughness, that they will, we are told, not only excoriate, but even scoop off the flesh of man or beast to the bone by mere licking^r.

Much more reason have we to doubt of the twentieth part of the physical virtues which the superstitious natives, as well as the Portuguese and others, attribute to almost every part of this animal, from the tip of the horn to the calcined bones and hoofs. Mr. D'Herbelot tells us, on the authority of the famed Sharif Al Edrisi, that this creature is chiefly found in the isle of Rami, on the Indian sea, about three days sailing from that of Serendib, from which the Indian kings are furnished with its wonderful horn to drink out of; it having the singular virtue of sweating at the approach of any kind of poison. He adds, that the horn being split in two in the middle, represents the profile or outlines of a man, as drawn with chalk; and some of them also those of birds^s. To the description we have given, Al Edrisi adds, that the rhinoceros hath a bunch under his belly like that which the camel hath on his back; and father Le Compte affirms, that its hoofs are cloven, its feet thick, as if entangled within so many boots; that the hinder part of his head is also covered with a kind of

D'Herbelot's account of them.

^r Dapper, Ogilby, and F. Le Compte.
Orient. sub. voce Kerkedan.

^s D'Herbelot Biblioth.

cowl like that of our women's capuchins, on which account the Portuguese have given it the name of the Indian monk.

We meet with sundry other particulars and descriptions of this creature among writers both ancient and modern, which our scanty limits will not permit us to expatiate upon, as well as a great variety of animals, which are distinguished by the name of rhinoceros, monoceros, licorn; but most of these are imaginary. There is a manifest difference between the African and Indian rhinoceros, the former being without scales, and the latter covered with them; the one having but one horn on its nose, and the other having, besides this, a second on its forehead, and a third on its back.

The next in rank and size is the garassa, called by the Arabs zarafa, and by Pliny and other ancients camelopard, from its beautiful spots like the leopard. It is about the height of a camel, but much more slender, and finely shaped. Its hind legs are considerably shorter than its fore legs, a circumstance which gives the creature a majestic forehead, especially as its neck rises commonly about six feet or more above the nape, in an almost upright ascent, and ends in a beautiful small head like that of a deer, or antelope, with two ears, short and upright; the skin of its breast is smooth and sleek, the hair mixed of black and white, its tail long and slender, its gait and pace slow and even, excepting when frightened or pursued, and then very fleet and nimble. They commonly resort in woods and desert places, shun the sight of men, and never herd with other animals. They are in great numbers in Nubia and Abyssinia, where the natives have several ways of catching them when young, and bringing them up tame. One great inconveniency, however, attends their erect front, and length of fore legs; they cannot, without great difficulty and wide striding, bring their heads low enough to graze on the ground, but browse, for the most part, on boughs and leaves of trees. The same difficulty they find in drinking in shallow water. Bellonius says, he saw two of them at Grand Cairo, which had two horns on the top of their foreheads, about six inches long, and another like a button, about two inches, growing out of the middle of it^t.

The Garassa, or camelopard.

Other beasts of the wild and ferocious kind, such as lions, tigers, leopards, panthers, wolves, foxes, buffalos,

^t Comment in Pliny, ubi supra, Dapper, & al.

wild boars, elks, stags, roebucks, wild goats, and monies, are to be found in great plenty and variety in many parts of Africa, and, for the most part, exceed those of Asia and Europe in size, strength, and fierceness; but as they are all, or most of them, so well known, we shall not dwell upon the description of them, but close this article with the dante, which we have already mentioned on account of its extreme fleetness above all other quadrupeds.

The dante.

The dante, lante, or, as others write it, ampte, is of the size of a buffalo, or wild bull, but much slenderer, its legs longer, and more fit for running. It is naturally very wild, exceedingly shy, and being likewise very swift of foot, it is very difficult to catch or overtake him, excepting in the summer season, when the burning sand so parches and shrivels his hoofs, that it quite disables him from running. At all other times those animals sweep the ground with such incredible speed, that no other creature can keep pace with them, except some well-trained Barbary horses, as we lately hinted. Their hide is so thick and tough, that the sharpest steel weapon cannot pierce it. Its hoofs are black and hard, its horns of the same colour, but shorter and more sleek than those of the buffalo, and the rest of its body is white. The snout and ears resemble those of a cow, and their long slim tails hang down like those of the camelopards. Bellonius describes much such another creature, which he calls a cow, and differs only from the lante in that its skin was of a fine bright yellow instead of white, and its hair smooth and sleek, as if it had been curried by a careful hand^a. This is the animal which Aristotle affirmed to have blood without veins; and others have ascribed to it various other singularities, which have, perhaps, no better foundation; but its singular swiftness above all other animals, the ostrich excepted, is what it is chiefly famed for by all who have wrote of it. We might, indeed, have added here the so much admired and celebrated zebra, or zecora, called by the ancients *asinus silvestris*, or *the wild ass*, and by the Portuguese *burro do matta*, which, for the smoothness of its skin, the beauty and regularity of its stripes, as well as the fineness of its shape and limbs, excels all the other quadrupeds, either of the wild or tame kind; but the particular description of it shall be reserved for the article of Abyssinia, where these elegant creatures mostly abound.

The beautiful zebra.

^a Leo Afr. Marmol.

We come now to the next, or volatile kind, and begin with the ostrich, by far the largest and strongest of them all; though unable, by reason of its bulk and weight, as well as from the scarcity of its feathers, to raise itself to any height from the surface of the earth, it is endued with such strength in its wings and legs, as to outstrip the swiftest courser. They are commonly found in greatest numbers in the dry barren deserts of Africa, but especially in the empires of Abyssinia, Monomotapa, Morocco, and Biledulgerid, where they lay their eggs in the hot sands, and leave them to be hatched by the sun, and by the next female which chances to light upon them. After having sat some time upon them, she leaves them to the next comer: every nest, consisting of ten or twelve, and sometimes sixteen or eighteen eggs, being indifferently reared up by any other female that finds them: on which account, the author of the book of Job introduces the Almighty as charging them with cruelty and want of natural affection for their offspring, and leaving them to be trod to death by wild beasts; but whatever danger they may be exposed to in the shell, providence hath given them strength and speed sufficient to avoid it as soon as they get out of it, when they immediately rove about for their food, and with such swiftness as not to be easily caught. We are told by Xenophon, that Cyrus, having met with a large drove of them near the Euphrates, sent some of the best horses he had in his army after them, without being able to catch a single bird. Some add, that, when closely pursued, they will, in their flight, take up stones, and throw them backwards with their feet, with extraordinary force and agility. Their wings, which are very short, in proportion to the rest of their limbs, are of no other use in their running than to beat and spur their heavy bodies forward, by striking them against their knees. They are exceeding tall; some ancients say, above the height of a man on horseback^w; but the generality of them rarely exceeds seven feet and a half from the head to the ground. The common notion is, that they digest iron, copper, and other metals, stones, and other substances equally hard; and the truth is, that such things have been found in their maw, but probably for the same end as inferior birds swallow small pebbles or grains of sand; not for

The ostrich described.

^w Vide Pliny Natur. Hist. lib. x.

food, but to assist the attrition of it in the stomach. Their flesh is said to be offensive both to the taste and smell, and of a viscous nature, yet is commonly eaten by the Africans and Arabs, especially in Numidia. Those people are remarkably fond of the young ostriches: these they take as soon as hatched, and breed up for food, by letting them rove about in droves, till they are fat enough to be killed and salted for use. The Arabs have likewise a way, before they cut off their heads, to tie a string or tape about their necks, a little below it, by which a kind of oily grease is gathered above the ligature, esteemed among them, not only as a pleasant sauce, to be mixed with their food instead of oil or butter, but likewise as a sovereign ointment against bruises, aches, sprains, and such kind of disorders. Our authors add, that the ostrich hath neither taste, smell, hearing, nor memory; a defect which, if true, will account for that strange stupidity which is commonly attributed to them, so gross, that they will, in time of danger, endeavour to hide their heads in the sand, among weeds and brambles, and think themselves in safety, though the rest of the body remains exposed to their pursuers*. We are even told, that they will suffer themselves to be approached and caught by a man covered with an ostrich's skin, who can imitate some of their motions*. We shall not trouble our readers with a description of their feathers, which are so well known, and are such an ornament to the heads of our martial beaux, as well as formerly to beds and rooms of state. All that we shall say of them is, that their natural colour is a mixture of white and black in the males, with an additional shade of grey in the females. As for that beautiful variety of red, crimson, blue, and yellow, in which they are brought over to us, they are the effects of art, and chiefly known and used amongst the Arabs, who buy them of the natives in their natural, and dye them for foreign sale in that variety of colours in which we see them. Many of their eggs are made into drinking cups, and other table and household ornaments; and, if we may believe Pierius, some make them into caps, which they think no small ornaments to their heads. Those that are laid by the old ones, are commonly the largest, and the others are so in proportion: they are all good to eat, and even those which are broken in the laying, which is a

Their stupidity.

* Claudian in Eutrop. in Appian, & al.
supra, Strabo, lib. xvi. & al.

† Pliny, ubi

common case, occasioned by the stupidity of the creature, prove a nourishment to the young ones, who greedily feed on the multitudes of worms and other insects which are either bred in, or croud into them^z.

Eagles, vultures, hawks, herons, pelicans, and other carnivorous birds, are here in such numbers and variety, that it would require a volume barely to describe them. *Other birds.*

The most remarkable amongst them is the eagle, of which they have seven sorts, mostly differing from our's, not only in size, but in colour, shape, and other particulars, not worth mentioning. Among those of the strange and monstrous kind, there is one with a horn on its head, running parallel, and near the same length, with its bill, on which account they give it the name also of rhinoceros. In other respects it resembles the stork or crane, and is a bird of prey. There is another of a lesser size, with two horns, to which the Europeans have given the name of devil. The last we shall mention is that which the natives call the four-winged bird; not that it hath really so many, but because there is a kind of appendix growing at the end of each of its pinions, which leaves a kind of chasm between, so that, when it spreads them abroad, they look like a double wing. It is a bird of prey, large as a turkey-cock, well shaped in body, with a fine tuft on its head, a large hooked bill, and its feet armed with strong claws. What is most singular in this creature^a, is, that it stirs not out for its prey but in the night, or dusk of the evening, and yet finds provision enough to keep itself fat and full of flesh. *A bird with one horn.*
Another with two, called the devil.
A bird with four wings.

Africa would yield us a still more extensive field, were we to enter into a detail, or even a bare enumeration of those of the tame kind, as cocks, hens, turkies, swans, geese, ducks, doves, pigeons, &c. or of those which are taught to pronounce articulate sounds, as parrots, makaws, and cokatoes. Those of the game kind are no less numerous and various; even those which are most commonly reckoned peculiar to colder climates. *Game fine tasted and numerous.*

Africa swarms with the most dreadful variety of serpents, some of them of prodigious length and bulk; so subtle and dangerous, as to infest the roads by lurking among the thorns, briars, and grass, or even climbing up trees in quest of prey. Others will take their opportunity of sliding into the holes and corners of houses, in the night- *Vast large serpents, both dreadful and destructive.*

^z Leo, Marmol, Cavazzi, Dapper, & al. supra citat, Relat. d'Afrique. vol. iii. p. 360, & seq.

^a Labat

*Their bite
and touch
mortal.*

*Vipers and
other small
serpents.*

*Natives
afraid to
kill them.*

Scorpions.

time, in order to seize on some of the family, or any domestic animal; one kind is said to kill with their eyes, like the basilisk; others, by their poisonous breath and stench; a third, by their bite or sting, or even the touch, which is of so venomous a nature, that the inhabitants know of no other way of saving the person touched, but by the immediate amputation of the limb infected (Y)^b.

Besides those of monstrous size, they have multitudes and a great variety of others, of various shapes, colours and qualities, all of them venomous, though not to an equal degree. The viper, in particular, is one of the smallest of the creeping kind, beautifully spotted and chequered from head to tail, but its bite is not incurable. Most of the Africans in general, whether Christians, Mohammedans, or Heathens, retain still a strange tincture of their old heathenish superstition, and think it most dangerous, and some of them a very horrid crime, to destroy any of them; so that being left alone to live and range, they multiply to such a degree, that the paths, hedges, fields, and the very grass, swarms with them, and travellers can hardly move a step without running a great danger of their lives, especially as they generally go bare-foot. Besides those of the serpent kind, there are multitudes of other insects of the same poisonous nature, which haunt their roads, fields, and houses, some of the flying, others of the reptile kind; of this latter sort are the scorpions, whose sting is reckoned incurable, and, in many parts, causes immediate death. Some of this species, but of a larger size, have also wings, both in Africa and some parts of India, and are of course so much the more danger-

^b Leo African. Marmol, Dapper, Labat, & al. sup. citat.

(Y) Of this deadly nature are those monstrous and unwieldy serpents, which infest Mount Atlas, Biledulgerid, Zaara, and other parts of Africa (1). This animal is not only watchful after its prey, but nimble in seizing and holding it, by twisting about it. When it hath devoured a man, sheep, hog, stag, cow, or other large creature, the weight so oppresses its stomach, that it can hardly move for several days, till the meal is digested. Not only the least bite of its teeth, but the very touch of any part of it is said to be attended with a gradual corruption of the flesh, which dissolves like soap in warm water, with exquisite pain, as well as horror, to the unhappy person, and is sure to end in death.

(1) See Ramusio Viagii, edit. 3. part viii. p. 94. Dapper, D'Arty, Ludolph. Ethiop. lib. i. cap. 12, & al.

ous and destructive. There is a vast variety of others, of a smaller size, very prejudicial, some to the eyes, others to other parts of the body, especially to the fingers and toes, where they leave either the poison of their stings, or one or more of their eggs, which produce worms, that must be extracted with exceeding care by a skilful hand, because, being very slender, they are apt to break in the extraction; and if ever so small a part be left behind, it will have the same effect of causing the most excruciating pains, ending sometimes in a gangrene and death. These and others are bred in their stagnated waters, in lakes, pools, and marshy grounds, which are overflowed by the violent rains of one season, and dried up by the excessive heats of another; so that there is scarce a kingdom or district which is not infested by some of that pernicious vermin in one shape or another^c. There is one species called dubb, which, in shape and nature, resembles the tarantula, but is much larger than those which breed in Italy, and some other parts of Europe, and of course more pernicious; for if these can pierce with their sting the double leathern sole of a peasant's shoe, with what force must those penetrate the naked foot of an African? We are told, that they are commonly of the length of a man's arm, about four inches in diameter, and amazingly strong. This animal, like others of the serpentine kind, will move many days after the head is taken off, and its body cut into several pieces. Some add that it never drinks any thing, but expires as soon as any water is put into its mouth. The Libyans, and other Africans, where these vermin swarm, make no scruple to broil and eat them as delicacies^d.

Other venomous insects.

The dubb, like a tarantula.

Dies at the taste of water.

The camelion, or camelian, is a reptile, very frequent all over Africa. It resembles the common lizard, but his head is more erect, and not unlike that of a ram, abating the horns. His tail is about a span long, and his feet like those of a monkey. He can not only walk swiftly though awkwardly, and climb and fasten on the smallest branches of a tree, or hang upon them by the tail, in pursuit of his prey, which is neither the air, wind, or rays of the sun, as the antients supposed, but consists of real insects, which he catches by the help of a tongue about three or four inches long, which he shoots out of a kind of scabbard or case, without ever missing his aim. For

The camelion.

Its real food.

^c Ramusio, ubi supra, p. 9. Dapper, Labat, & al. ^d Ramusio, Dapper, Davity, Pigafet, Purchas, & al. vide & Marmol, lib. i. cap. 23.

this reason they mostly frequent woods, hedges, and places where the verdure draws those insects. He never drinks; nor hath he either bladder or urinary passage. His skin is smooth, and of a greyish colour, and retains that hue after death. That on his back is hard and scaly, and somewhat prickly along the middle of it. The eyes are round and piercing, though without eye-lids; and he can turn them to any two contrary objects, so as to look with one upwards and with the other downwards, with the one forward and with the other backward, and both continually intent upon its prey. Besides insects, we are told that the seeds of lemons, citrons, and other fruits with maniok meal, have been found in its maw; so that it wants not variety of food of a more solid substance than that of the air or the sun's rays. The Africans look upon it as a dangerous animal, on account of its slaver; and so ominous, that, if any individual meets with a camelion in his way, he concludes that he is upon the eve of some misfortune^c.

*Pismires of
sundry de-
structive
kinds.*

The next and most dreadful of all the African insects are their pismires, of which they have a great variety, and such innumerable swarms, that they destroy not only the fruits of the ground, but even men and beasts, in so little a time as one single night; and would, without all doubt, prove more fatally destructive to the inhabitants, were they not so happily destroyed by a proportionable number of monkeys, who greedily ferret and devour them. But of these, and some other grievous plagues which the far greater part of this vast continent is afflicted with, particularly that most horrid visitation of locusts, which seldom fail a year of laying waste some of its provinces, we shall speak more at large in the sequel.

Locusts.

*The mono-
cephalus.*

Among all the monsters which Africa hath been remarkable for producing, we shall confine ourselves to the description of the animals which the Greeks called monocephalus, on account of its having a head like a dog, though, in other respects, resembling a monkey or baboon, but much larger and stronger (Z): but what they are

^c Cavazzi Kongo, lib. i. cap. 9.

(Z) Many living creatures may be wrongfully denominated monsters, merely because not frequent, and seldom seen; whereas were they more closely enquired into, they would be found numerous enough to compose a distinct species. Of this kind are those pongas, or gigantic apes, mentioned by

Purchas,

are chiefly remarkable for is, their being observed to urinate twelve times a day, and as many in the night, at equal distances of time, at the equinox^a; from which circumstance, we are told, the Egyptian priests took the first hint of their clepsydra, or water-glasses, which were invented by Ctesiphon of Alexandria, but afterwards exchanged for the more sure and commodious sand-glasses; in memory of which hint they used to have the figure of that animal painted or carved on their hour-glasses^b.

*Gave rise
to the water
hour-glass.*

Africa being surrounded almost by the sea, and parted only from the Asiatic continent by the narrow isthmus of Suez, and abounding with such numbers of large lakes and considerable rivers, must of course be supposed to afford the greatest plenty and variety both of salt and fresh water fish. The misfortune is, that not only those lakes and large reservoirs of water, in the heat of the summer season, are either in part or wholly dried up, so that the fish are destroyed and infect the air with their stench; and even those which retain water enough to keep their fish alive, become putrid, communicating a noxious quality to the fish, which engenders disorders in the poorer sort of the natives, whom necessity obliges to feed upon them. Even many of their noble and large rivers are choaked up, through the shameful indolence of the people, with trees on both sides, the branches of which meeting in the middle, exclude the water from the rays of the sun, and the benefit of the winds and fresh air,

*Great
plenty and
variety of
fish.*

*In many
parts unfit
to eat.*

^a Florus, Pliny, & al.

^b Vide Kercher Mechanic. Egypt.

Purchas, on the authority of Andrew Battel. Their faces, heads, hands, and ears, are without hair, and like those of a man; their eyes hollow, and overhung with large eye-brows; the body covered with hair, though not thick; the legs without calves, and they carry their hands on the nape of their neck, when they walk on the ground. They sleep upon trees, and build huts to shelter them against rain: they live chiefly upon such fruits as they find in the woods, and eat no flesh.

They are so shy and nimble, that the natives seldom catch them; and so strong when caught, that ten men cannot hold one of them; and yet so stupid, that, though they take great delight to come and warm themselves at the fires which travellers are obliged to kindle in woods and deserts, in order to keep off wild beasts; as soon as those travellers are gone, none of them have sense enough to supply those embers with fresh fuel, but go away as soon as they find the fire burnt out (1).

(1) Purchas Relat. lib. vi. c. 3. § 6. Ramus. Viagii. vol. i. p. 114.

for a great number of leagues together; so that for want of ventilation, the fish become putrid and unwholesome. Notwithstanding this infection and the multitude of crocodiles, sea-horses, and other such amphibious animals, which prey upon the fish, a sufficient quantity remains to constitute the common food in many parts; and some sorts of them, dried in the sun, serve instead of bread.

The coasts, however, it may well be supposed, are supplied with a still greater plenty and variety, and drive a large commerce in them both on the eastern and western side; and this last, together with some pearl fisheries, which we shall have occasion to mention in a more proper place, and that of the zimbis, a small shell-fish, the shell of which is the only current coin, bring in a considerable revenue to the owners. The Portuguese have not only set up many fisheries; but have taught the natives, to follow their example, and make the most of those advantages which their situation and the neighbouring ocean so liberally throw in their way^k.

One of the most remarkable fishes that frequent the coasts of Africa and America, is the shark, called by the Spaniards, tuberone, by the Italians, pescocane, and by the French, requin. This voracious animal is found sometimes twenty-five feet in length; its mouth armed with a treble row of teeth extremely sharp, and the muscles of the jaw so strong, that it has been known to cut a man asunder at one bite.

The Manati, or hana-fish, described.

Its vast bulk.

The coast of Africa abounds also with the manati, as the Spaniards call it, on account of its having seemingly two hands, with which it carries its young close to its breast. The French call it lamentine, probably on account of some mournful noise it makes when in distress or danger; and the English call it the sea-cow, from its resemblance, in some respects, to the land animal of that name. It is of an extraordinary size, weighing often above fourteen hundred pounds, its length about eighteen, and its diameter between four and five feet. Its body is almost round from the head to the naval, but grows gradually flatter from that to the end of its tail. It hath a large head, wide mouth, and thick lips, covered with some straggling long hairs above and below. Its eyes are small and dim, and its sight weak, a defect amply compensated by its exquisite hearing and smell: it is alarmed at the least distant noise, whether at land or sea, being

^k Leo African. Marmol, Linshot, Dapper, Labat, Pigafet. & alib. ex ceeding

exceeding fearful, as are most other animals, which, like it, are destitute of all defence. Their fins resembling hands, which hang about two or three inches above their paps, and spread themselves wider downwards, are hollow, and parted by a kind of cartilage, like that of other fishes, and can be of no use to them out of the water, much less to drag such a vast heavy body along the ground.

The Africans are very expert in catching this fish. The cramp-hooks with which they strike it, and other such large creatures, are of iron, and about seven or eight inches long, the point very sharp, and the other end hath a hole or ring, through which they run a string, of the length of ten or twelve fathoms, at the end of which they fasten a piece of wood, which floats on the water. The method of striking them is the same as that practised on whales, except that the Moors endeavour to come near enough to strike it a second time, in order to hasten the effusion of its blood; and as soon as it is dead, they either take it into their canoes, or tow it ashore.

*How
caught by
the Moors.*

Their flesh is of an exquisite taste, superior to the Mediterranean ton, or sturgeon, especially from about the middle of the ribs down to the belly; but the most delicious morsel of all is the udder. It hath moreover along the back a long streak of fat, about five inches thick, which, being melted with the rest of its paunch, yields an excellent kind of butter, which is not subject to grow rancid. Its skin is thick, and tough enough to be tanned, and some of the poorer sort sole their shoes with it untanned. As the female hath but two dugs to suckle, and two fins to carry its young, which are commonly a male and a female, one would be apt to judge they can bring forth no more than two at a time; and indeed they are never caught with a greater number¹.

*Fine flesh,
and fat.*

*How fast
they pro-
pagate.*

There are several pearl fisheries both on the eastern and western coasts, the most considerable of which lie round some small islands, over-against the kingdom of Sofala; but the people thus employed, instead of exposing the oysters to the warmth of the sun, which would induce them to open, lay them upon the embers, by which absurd method those pearls which they catch, contract a dull kind of redness, which robs them of their natural lustre, as well as of their value. Pearl fishing is performed by the women as well as the men: both, being equally

*Pearl fish-
eries.*

¹ Labat Relat. d'Afrique. vol. i. p. 339, & seq.

expert

Carried on by men and women. expert and excellent swimmers and divers, are obliged to plunge ten or twenty fathoms into the sea, by the help of a weight fastened to their legs or feet, with a bag hanging about their necks, into which they put the oysters, which they catch by groping; but they are forced frequently to give the signal to those in the boats above, by the pull of a string, to be hoisted up to fetch breath and have the benefit of the fresh air. In the like manner they catch every other shell-fish either for food or ornament, particularly the zimbis, which pass for current money amongst them, and some other sorts, which are esteemed either for their beauty, or some supposed inherent virtue.

Other shell fish caught for food, &c.

Amber-grise.

Both the eastern and western coasts abound with amber-grise, and which forms a considerable branch of commerce with the Europeans and other nations. On the coasts of Sofala and Mosambico, the natives despised it, as being, in their opinion, nothing better than the excrements of the whale, cast upon their coasts by the winds and waves; but no sooner were they apprised of the high price it bore in other countries, than their avarice inspired them with a strange jealousy; so that, not daring to trust one another in carrying on this advantageous traffic, they took it into their heads to break those huge masses which they found, into small pieces, that every one of them might have his share, and be able to carry it to market.

The two chief sorts described.

We need not here tell our readers that there are two kinds of it, and both found in great plenty on this continent, the one of a greyish ash colour, which hath a most exquisite and delicious fragrancý, and bears by far the largest price; the other of a brown and darkish hue, hard and without any scent, unless heated by friction, and then strong, and rather offensive than pleasant. But the most precious and valuable is the former, which, next to diamonds, pearls, and gold-dust, is reckoned the richest commodity that belongs to the African commerce, and is thrown ashore by the sea in large quantities along the eastern coasts, especially after violent storms, more particularly upon those small islands which lie contiguous to Madagascar, and the coasts of Quiloa, Sofala, and Mosambico, though very little of it is to be found on this side the Cape of Good Hope¹.

The first the most valuable by far.

Whether it lie on, or is covered under, the sand, they find it here by turning out droves of hogs, which are

¹ Ramus, Viag. vol. i. p. 313.

excessively fond of it, and greedily devour as well as commonly discover it at a distance by the scent. Others by the flights of birds of all sorts, which flock to it on the same account, it being greedily sought for, as a delicious food by the whole volatile kind. Others, especially on the coasts of Mosambico and Madagascar, discover it by means of a large fish, which is very fond of it, but dies upon the eating of it, and is seen on its back swimming on the water. Wherever any of these, or any other of their prognostics are perceived, the people immediately flock in shoals, and scramble for and divide it amongst them; no argument having been, hitherto able to prevail upon them to take up and send it to market whole as they find it, though conscious that it would greatly advance its price, the fear of being defrauded of part of the drug making them overlook that advantage, and still go on in their old way^m.

Natives distrust of each other.

We come now to a still more valuable commodity, with which this part of the world abounds. We mean their gold-dust, which, in most places, lies so near the surface of the earth, that they need but scratch five or six feet deep, to come at it, instead of that immense labour and danger with which that precious metal must be extracted out of the bowels of the earth, in different parts of India and America. The Portuguese, Dutch, and other Europeans, upon their first discovery of the African coasts, betrayed such an insurmountable eagerness after it, and fell into such a variety of indirect, base, and violent means of procuring and extorting it from the simple and unsuspecting natives, as could hardly fail of spreading such an universal alarm and jealousy amongst them, that nothing less would quench the insatiable avarice of their new guests than the effectual possession of all their mines. The Caffres, and Hottentots, have, ever since, looked upon all Europeans as equally combined to deprive them of their natural right to a treasure, which, of itself, is sufficient to procure to them all that is valuable, curious, or useful, in the other three parts of the globe, without being obliged to stir out of their own. Nor need any one wonder at this prejudice, who considers what conquests and extensive settlements those aliens have made around the whole eastern and western coasts; how far, in some, they have carried them into the inland countries; or with what a high and tyrannic sway they have

Rich mines of gold.

Easily wrought.

Africans jealous of all Europeans.

^m Serapion. ap. Labat, vol. i. p. 319, & al. Ramusio, & al.

ever since maintained those acquisitionsⁿ: much less reason have we to be surpris'd at those wise and necessary precautions they have every-where been forced to take, to put a stop to their farther progress, and frustrate all future attempts upon their liberties or properties, by not only excluding every stranger from penetrating into the interior parts, but by even massacring every one they catch attempting it; and by concealing from them, with their utmost industry, the places where any of their mines lie. But whether they have any or no, they carry their precaution so far, as to pretend to be utter strangers to those nations with whom they traffic for it, and affirm that it is either brought to them from far distant and unknown countries, over wild, desolate, and barren deserts, and dreadful mountains, inaccessible to any other Africans; or that it is washed down from their high mountains, by the vehement torrents of their rapid rivers, and with great labour and danger gathered up by the poor inhabitants of the low-lands. By these pretences, they endeavour to amuse those merchants who come to traffic with them for it, in order to divert or deter the rest from all future attempts after a shorter way of procuring it; and they have proved so successful in it, that even the Portuguese, who have been settled so long amongst them, have been frequently disappointed in their search after those mines, and proved the dupes of those African princes with whom they were in the strictest alliance, in spite of all their artful politics and superior strength both on the eastern and western coasts. The Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope have had the mortification to see those of their nation who went in search of gold mines, massacred by their nearest allies among the Hottentots. So that, upon the whole, we may safely affirm, notwithstanding all the boasted discoveries of the Portuguese, and French, on this vast continent, their extensive settlements, and great commerce, and, above all, the indefatigable pains they have taken to elude the wise precautions of the natives in this particular, the far greater part of those rich mines remain still unknown to the Europeans. The same may be said also of their extent, nature, and richness, seeing in most inland places the natives content themselves with digging up such a quantity of that metal every year, as will serve

ⁿ De his, vide Ofor. Marmol, Leo Afric. Pigafet. Cavaz, Labat, & al. sup. citat.

their district to send to market, and exchange for cloths, iron tools, and such other commodities as they shall want in that year; after which the mine is covered up again, and it is made death for any one to open it till the next season °.

We shall therefore defer all farther detail on that subject, till we come to mention such remarkable mines as fall in our way, in every kingdom or state through which our route lies. The same method we shall, for brevity sake, observe with respect to their other mines, whether of silver, copper, or other metals, minerals, and fossils.

The continent of Africa is intersected by a great variety of very considerable mountains, some famed for the vast length and excessive extent of their ridges, and branchings on each side. Of this kind are the Greater and Lesser Atlas, well known and celebrated by the ancients; the former of which stretches above a thousand leagues from east to west, that is, from that of Jubal Moyes, and the coast of Mazra, about a hundred leagues short of Alexandria, quite to the Atlantic ocean westward, to which it gives its name; and though in its course, in which it divides Barbary from the Biledulgerid, it is here and there interrupted by considerable chasms, yet it still continues in a direct western course to the Atlantic coast, whence it appears, at a distance off at sea, as raising itself from its sandy bottom, above the clouds, where it seems, according to the fable, to support the skies (A). We defer speaking of its spacious woods, verdure, fertility, rivers, inhabitants, and other particulars, till we come to the history of Morocco. The other, or Lesser Atlas, called also Lant, but more particularly by the inhabitants Errif, is another high ridge of mountains extending along the Mediterranean, from the streights of

The most considerable mountains.

Great and Lesser Atlas.

° Lopez, Pigafet. Ramus. Davity, Dapper, Labat, & al. sup. citat.

(A) This famous ridge, which the natives named Ayduacal, and, by way of emphasis, The High Mountains, and the Spaniards Montes Claros, whether on account of the height, or, which is more probable, from the clearness and whiteness of its summits, which appear at all times covered with snow, receives a variety of other names through the countries which it crosses, and resumes its own again at its other end (6).

(6) De hoc vide Leo Afric. Marmol, Diego de Torres Ortel. Gibraltar

*Mountains
of the Sun
and Moon.*

Gibraltar to the city of Bona, on the same coast. Others are famed for their prodigious height, such as those called the Mountains of the Sun and Moon; the Sierra Leona, or Mountain of Lions, in Guinea, so called from the vast number of those fierce creatures which range at large on them; the Mountains of Crystal, near the famed lake of Zafan, so called from their mines of that beautiful mineral; and those of Salt-petre, stretching a great way eastward from the kingdom of Kongo; the Pico-franco, a kind of branch of the Atlas, which runs through the middle of Caffraria, and some part of the country of the Hottentots; the Table Mountain, at the Cape of Good Hope, so called from its square figure; lastly, the famed mountain of Amhara, in the empire of Abyssinia, at the top of which all the princes of the royal blood were formerly confined, till called down to the crown; of all which, and many others equally remarkable, we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the sequel of this African history.

*Lakes and
rivers.*

Here are some considerable lakes, and a much greater number of rivers, which spring from, or discharge themselves into them. The two most considerable of those lakes are those of Zaire, or Zambra, out of which spring the two great rivers of Coansa and Lelunda, and that of Dembea, through which the famed Nile runs across, without mixing its waters with it; of both which we shall give a fuller account in their proper places, as we shall also of those and the principal rivers of this extensive continent; and shall here only subjoin the names of the most considerable, reserving, for brevity sake, the farther description of them till we come to speak of those countries which they either fertilize by their streams, or enrich by their commerce.

Nile.

Of all those the Nile hath, from time immemorial, and upon many valuable accounts, obtained the first rank both among the ancients and moderns. But as we have given an ample account of its spring head, course, windings, and other particulars, in the ancient history of Egypt, we shall refer our readers to that article.

*Niger, or
Sanaga,
its vast
traffic with
the Euro-
peans.*

The Niger, more commonly known by the name of Sanaga, Senegal, or Zanagal, is usually allowed the second rank. Many authors have supposed it to be only a branch, or at least to have sprung from the same source with the Nile; and the Arabs themselves give it the name of the Nile of the Nigritoe, from a fancied conformity of its waters, and its regular overflowings, and species of animals

animals pretended to be peculiar to those two rivers; all which the reader will find abundantly confuted by the account we have elsewhere given, both of the river, its spring-head, and course, in our ancient history of Nigritia.

The next in rank and course, in coasting southward, is the Rio del Rey, or King's River, called also Rio dos Comerones, or Crab River: it runs through that part of Negroland which the Spaniards call Alta Terra d'Ambosi, and its mouth lies about six leagues off the cape of that name. Others of less note on the same coast are those of Monoca, Borba, Rio del Campo, de S. Beneto, and S. Juan, which last hath its entrance obstructed by a sandy bar. About twenty-two leagues farther south is the river of Gaba or Gabon, under the equator; and about forty-six minutes north the celebrated cape called Lopez Gonzalez. These rivers, inconsiderable as they may appear, in comparison of some of those of the first rank, abound with villages and some towns on each side, the inhabitants of which carry on a gainful traffic with Europe, and exchange many of their valuable commodities, as gums, elephants teeth, slaves, civet, bezoar, and gold dust, for European trinkets, glass beads, bugles, or, at best, some iron and brass tools, and frequently for brandy and other spirituous liquors, for which they seem to have taken such an eager liking, that they will part even with their children and relations for a small quantity of them, as we have already remarked. But omitting those of lesser note, both on this and the eastern coast, which carry on much the same traffic, we shall confine ourselves to the most considerable streams, and make one general remark upon them; viz. that, though our geographers and African writers are, for the most part, very sanguine in ascertaining their spring-heads, and courses, yet there are but very few that are navigable so high as to admit the discovery of their sources: and as to the natives, they are too indolent and incurious, on the one hand, to trouble themselves after such searches, and by far too shy and incommunicative on the other, to impart any thing they know of them to strangers, unless it be with a view to deter them from all attempts of that kind, or to delude them into some dangerous enterprize. Sailing southward from the river and cape de Gonzalvo, lately mentioned, the first great river we meet with is the famed Zaire, which divides the kingdom of Loango from that of Kongo, and is pretended, though without any certainty, to flow from the lake of

Rio del Rey.

Others of less note, their traffic.

Fondness of the natives for European trinkets and liquors.

Courses and springs of rivers not known.

The Zaire.

its

its name, otherwise called Zembra^r. Its course becomes so rapid by the long tract of ground it passes through, its many cataracts, and especially by the several large rivers it receives into its bosom, that it is affirmed to run three-score miles into the sea, before it mixes with the waters of the ocean. Its inundations are so impetuous as to sweep all before them on both sides; it breeds likewise vast numbers of crocodiles and sea-horses, and of a prodigious size; which shews how far these creatures are from being peculiar to the Nile and Niger^q. Other particulars relating to it will be taken notice of in the history of Kongo. Others of note running through this kingdom, are the Selunda, Ambrisi, Loze, Onza, and Enco-coque Matari, which last comes down with a rapid course, but hath its entrance stopped by a large bank of sand, so that no trading vessels can sail into it; nor dare the inhabitants venture to navigate it but in flight canoes, and flat-bottomed boats. The last we shall name belonging to this kingdom is the Danda, a very deep and large river, navigable about twenty or twenty-five leagues, which carries vessels of a hundred tons; but is, like the Zaire, much infested with sea-horses and crocodiles^r. It gives name to the province situate along its banks, as will be shewn in the sequel^s.

The Coanza.

The next in course and rank is the Coanza, or Quanfa, which divides the kingdom of Angola on the south from those of Kongo and Metambo on the north and north-east, and will be described more fully in the history of that kingdom, as by far the most considerable of it, both for its rapidity and dangerous navigation.

Rio de las Vacas.

In the kingdom of Benguela is the famed river called by the Portuguese, Rio de las Vacas, or Cows River, from the vast herds of black cattle bred along its banks, and bought by the Europeans. It receives another, no less remarkable, called Catonbella, composed of three large

The Catonbella.

streams united, and of a saltish nature: along the banks the natives dig large channels to receive its briny liquor, which is afterwards condensed into a good salt. On the south-side of Capo Negro, and almost under the tropic of Capricorn, is the mouth of the river Bembarougua, Bravagul, Coari, and some others which descend from the

^p Od. Lopez Senegal, his Translation. Hartshell in Kongo. Linschot, Battel, apud Purchas Relat. lib. vii. cap. 9. sec. 2. & al. sup. citat. ^q Battel, ap. Purchas, ubi sup. & al. plur. ^r La Croix Afric. Davity, Dapper, Battel, ubi supra, & al. ^s Vide Labat ex Cavazz. vol. i. cap. 6.

kingdom of Matamair, or Climbeba, and a few more along the Cafrarian, or, as they are rightly styled, the desert coast, so seldom frequented by the Europeans, that we know very little of them till we come to that of the elephants in the Hottentot country, of which, and others belonging to that large tract, we shall speak more fully in their turns. We shall only add here, that in this, as well as in all the inland countries on each side the eastern and western coast, there is a great number of other rivers, some of them very considerable, that spring from the high mountains of the Sun, Crystal, &c. which, after a long course, discharge themselves into some of the lakes, or are absorbed into the quicksands¹.

Having sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, and steering northward along the eastern coast, beyond that of the Hottentots, the first river of note we meet with is that of the Holy Ghost, or Rio del Spirito Santo, which, after a long course eastwards, discharges itself into the famed bay of the same name, called by the Portuguese and Spaniards, Baya de las Aguas, on account of the goodness of its waters, and divides the Hottentot coast and country from the kingdom of Inhanban. Its course, which is very considerable, and almost directly southward, is through the kingdom of Manica, a country inhabited by a tribe of barbarous Jagas, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, and whose king, or chief, is called Chicanga, where it is only known by the name of that kingdom, this of Rio del Santo Spirito being first given to it by the Portuguese. Its mouth and bay are likewise called by others Rio & Baya de S. Lorenzo, from its being situate over against the southernmost verge of the great isle of St. Laurence or Madagascar, under the 26th deg. of south latitude, and about 2 deg. and a half south of Cape Corientes, according to M. D'Anville. The largeness and convenience of this bay, as well as the excellence of its situation and waters, make it a place of great commerce and resort, and the Portuguese have a fort on one of the north capes of its mouth.

*Rio del
Spirito
Santo.*

The next in course is the river Inhanban, which runs through the kingdom of that name, the mouth of which lies about 1 deg. north of Cape Corientes, directly under the tropic of Capricorn, according to the most recent observations². North of that is the Sofala, or Cefala,

*The Inhan-
ban.*

¹ De his vide Ramus, Dapper, & al. *supra* citat. *villæ* Map.

² See D'An-

which gives name to that rich kingdom, and bounds it on the south, as the Cuama, or Guama, forms its northern boundary.

S E C T. III.

The Modern History of Africa, and of the various Nations under whose Government it hath been since the Expulsion of the Romans by the Vandals.

*The design
of this
section.*

OUR readers will perceive, by the title of this section, the subject of it does not extend to the whole African continent, much less is it our intention to give a particular detail of that vast variety of governments into which it is divided. Each of these, as far as they are known to us, will be more properly seen and described under its proper head, in the prosecution of this work. We shall now confine ourselves to that part of it which had been conquered by the Romans, and that so far only as is necessary to connect its modern with the ancient part, in such a manner as that there may be no chasm left between them, or any thing omitted that is worthy our reader's notice.

A. D 428.

*Genferic
invited to
Africa.*

Genferic, or, as Jornandes and other Latin authors write his name, Gizericus, a warlike prince of the Vandals, had scarce succeeded his brother Gunderic in the kingdom of Galicia, when he was invited into this part of Africa, by the then revolted count Bonifacio. Attracted by his advantageous offers, and more, perhaps, by his own ambitious views, he readily agreed to sail over to them; and, having provided himself with a sufficient number of transports, for himself and his Vandals, amounting to twenty-four thousand fighting men, sailed over the streights of Gadez, now Gibraltar, and landed on the coasts of Barbary, in the month of May.

In the mean time Bonifacio, whom necessity and self-preservation alone had engaged in this revolt, as the only means left to defend himself against the black intrigues of the treacherous Ætius, having made his innocence appear at the imperial court, and being re-admitted into favour, was as much grieved at the Vandal's arrival as he had been anxious and pressing for it, and left no means, offers, nor splendid promises untried to prevail upon him to sail back with his adventurers into Spain; but he had the mortification to find his proposals rejected with the utmost disdain, and to see Genferic resolutely bent upon settling in that part of the world; not only to lay the foundation of his

new

new kingdom, but with a view to lead from thence his victorious arms into the heart of Italy^w:

The foundation of this Vandalic monarchy proved a fatal epocha to the Africans of those parts; for, however small the difference may be in other respects between a Roman and Vandalian yoke, the Arian heresy, which that prince not only introduced, but propagated with a barbarous spirit of fanatic zeal, soon involved the whole country in all the miseries of a religious war. The orthodox clergy proved the greatest objects of his cruelty, not only on account of the vigorous defence they made against him, as an invader, a barbarian, a heretic, and apostate, but more on account of their great success in converting the idolatrous Moors. The unconverted Africans, especially their priests and princes, used such effectual means to exasperate him against the Romans in general, and more particularly against the clergy, by their loud complaints and bitter invectives, as well as by the readiness they expressed to join and assist him against them, that he was easily determined to set about the total extirpation of the true faith out of all his conquered dominions. The better to assure them of his resolution, and to attach them to his interest, he declared to the African idolaters, that they should be from thenceforth the executioners of his resentment on all orthodox recusants and their pastors, whilst he himself pursued his successes against the shattered remains of their forces, till he had extirpated the very name and memory of them out of Africa. Here fortune so far favoured his designs, that he quickly saw the country quite rid of them, and himself at full liberty to turn his whole resentment against the African church and clergy, as well as against all the standing monuments of the Roman prowess, committing the most cruel outrages and devastations in all these countries where they had seated themselves, not only upon the prisoners that fell into his hands, but against the poor innocent inhabitants. These were soon after followed by the utter demolition and destruction of all the stately structures both public and private, and all other valuable and sumptuous works, which those proud conquerors were wont to rear wherever they extended their dominions, as trophies and monuments of their power and grandeur.

Founds a monarchy in Barbary.

Resolution and success against the Romans.

Genferic is represented by them as a prince impenetrable in his designs, immeasurable in ambition, and inhuman

King Genferic's character.

^w Jornand. ubi supra, Victor. Uticens. de Persec. Vand. Procop. de Bello Vandal. & al. plur.

to his nearest blood, whenever it stood in competition with either. Neither was he less intrepid and immoveable than successful in his designs; witnests his victories and conquests over the Romans; and the singular disregard he shewed to the emperor Leo's menaces and complaints, for which he had given so many just occasions.

A. D. 442.

*Persecutes
the ortho-
dox.*

How long it was after Genseric's landing on this coast before the effects of his rage against the orthodox broke out, our authors are not agreed; but probably, not till he had obliged the Romans to cede to him all his conquests in that part by treaty; though the strenuous and universal opposition he met with from some of their clergy, joined to the malicious instigations of the idolatrous Moors, lately mentioned, may be supposed to have inspired him with such a resolution long before; and, in the mean while, to have pushed him on to treat all those of the church that fell into his hands with the severest marks of his hatred and resentment: but being now arrived at his height of glory and conquest, his arms dreaded by the Romans, and no other power left to control him, he quickly gave a full scope to his ambition and revenge, by a general proscription of all the orthodox, shutting up all their churches, seizing the fairest of them for the service of his Arians, converting others to secular, and even viler uses; demolishing others, especially such as were built after the Roman taste, and rebuilding them after the Gothic way. He not only deprived the bishops, and all ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, of their dignities and revenues, and plundered their cathedrals, monasteries, and chapels, of their sacred ornaments and utensils, without distinction, but ordered their sacred books, as well as those which belonged to the church, their missals, breviaries, and homilies, to be seized and burnt; which violences being strenuously opposed by the good old Valerianus, a venerable bishop of eighty years of age, he was immediately stripped of his dignities, and all that he had, and banished, naked and destitute, out of his dominions. In the like manner, and on the same account, he condemned many of their most dignified ecclesiastics distinguished for zeal, learning, and piety, to an exile far more dreadful than death, and aggravated with every circumstance of horror and cruelty; whilst the rest of them, with their helpless flocks, were left to wander about, dispersed and destitute of all comfort; so that those whose zeal, learning, or merit had prompted his fury to accelerate their martyrdom, were esteemed to have shared by far the milder

milder doom. The places pitched upon for their banishment and the scenes of their sufferings, were some of the most barren and horrid deserts of Barbary, belonging to the idolatrous Moorish princes.

The guards employed to conduct them thither were the subjects of those chiefs, now either in alliance with, or tributary to Genseric; and these, from their innate hatred to them, as well as to recommend themselves the more to his favour, made them undergo the most cruel fatigues, and intolerable indignities and miseries, during a long and painful route through wild, rocky, and unfrequented ways. The sick, blind, lame, and maimed, even the superannuated, worn out with extreme old age and infirmities, were forced, by dint of blows, and other inhuman treatment, to crawl along with the rest, until they sunk or expired under their load of misery. *Their miseries and evil treatment.*

In the midst of all these persecutions, an occurrence happened, which not only suspended the execution of Genseric's cruel design, during the short remainder of his reign, but seemed to promise no less than that it would be wholly set aside, and that the king began indeed to relent of his innate barbarity. Zeno, now raised to the imperial throne, had been forced to make peace with Genseric, renouncing all claim to his African conquests, and yielding them wholly to this prince and his descendants; but being now more afraid of his arms than ever, on account of a strict alliance which Genseric had since contracted with the warlike Odoacer, he had thought fit, by way of precaution, to send an embassy to him to confirm the former peace. *Severus sent ambassador to him.*

The person appointed for this commission was named Severus, a senator no less esteemed for his uprightness and generosity than admired for his politeness and address; with whose singular prudence and behaviour Genseric was so highly pleased, that he readily complied with all his proposals. This prince being now well advanced in years, and desirous to leave his son and successor Huneric in the quiet possession of his new-founded kingdom, gladly embraced that opportunity of confirming his former treaties with Zeno; and the politic Severus found means, by his frequent conferences with him, gradually to remove his pre-conceived aversion against the orthodox; and pre- *Renews the peace with him.*

• Procop. de Bello Vandal. Jornand. cap. 33.

vailed upon him to retract, at least in some measure, those bloody orders he had given for their total extirpation.

*Becomes
more fa-
vourable to
the ortho-
dox.*

Accordingly, a little before his death, he re-instated the orthodox church of Carthage in its ancient rights, recalled all her clergy whom he had before banished, and its bishop Valerianus among the rest, and restored to them their ancient privileges and revenues; from which circumstances it is probably inferred, that, if he had lived longer, he would have totally revoked in his last will, those cruel orders which were executed by his immediate successor. Severus, after having refused, with a singular and disinterested modesty, the rich presents which that monarch would have heaped upon him, had artfully closed his denial with a hint, that the only present he could make him, worthy the acceptance of a Roman ambassador, was the release of those Romans whom he kept prisoners in his dominions. There was therefore no other way left for Genseric to prevent his being out-done in politeness and generosity, but that of complying with so laudable a request, or even granting him more than he had desired of him, as he accordingly did, by the immediate discharge of all that were in his own or his family's possession, without any ransom, and permitting him to redeem all the rest. His last will seems to have contained little else than directions for settling the succession amongst his descendants in such regular order, as might best preserve the peace and prosperity of his new kingdom, and most effectually prevent those disputes and intestine wars between them, which have proved so fatal and destructive to other monarchies and states.

*Releases the
Roman cap-
tives.*

Accordingly his four immediate successors proved such religious observers of his injunctions, that they all enjoyed the sovereignty in their turns, without quarrels or contentions from within, or opposition from without, till anno 433, when his maxims being disregarded by the then usurper, the Romans found an opportunity to drive him and the rest of his Vandals out of Africa, as will be seen in the sequel. Genseric, however, doth not, upon the whole, seem to have paid so great a regard to the peace lately concluded with the emperor; for we read of a fresh breach of it almost as soon as the ambassador had left his court. Those authors have not indeed given us the particulars of it, but only tell us that meeting with a vigorous repulse, he was

forced to retire to Carthage, extremely mortified and enraged at his defeat, and died there soon after.

His death.

However that be, Genſeric did not long outlive the laſt peace, but died after a long and ſucceſſful reign of ſixty years, and with him all the hopes which the orthodox had conceived from their ſhort-lived reſpite, and the peace concluded with the Romans. He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Huneric, or, as ſome authors write him, Ungaricus, and Hungarichus; a prince who not only inherited all his father's ferocity and hatred againſt the orthodox, but greatly outdid him in both. During his ſhort reign of leſs than eight years, he exerciſed greater cruelties againſt the African church than his father had diſplayed in his of ſixty. He had been ſent hoſtage to Conſtantinople, and married the princeſs Eudocia, daughter of the emperor Valentinian, whom his father had brought priſoner from Rome, and by whom he had a ſon and ſucceſſor; yet nothing was able to abate his extreme hatred to the orthodox and the Romans. He had another wife, the daughter of Theodoric king of Wallia; but this laſt, upon ſome ſlight ſuſpicion or ſurmife that ſhe deſigned to poiſon him, he ſent ſhamefully back to her father with both her noſtrils ſlit ².

A. D. 477.

Huneric, 2d king of the Vandals.

A cruel prince.

Huneric was not long in poſſeſſion of the throne before he revived the perſecution which had been ſuſpended by his father. About five thouſand Chriſtians, comprehending the moſt eminent biſhops and clergy, as well as monks of ſundry orders and ranks, and ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among the laity, were dragged in chains to the horrid barren deſerts aſſigned for the places of their exile. As faſt as they arrived at the cities of Sicca and Laris, from whence they took their departure, they were thrown without diſtinction into diſmal dungeons, where great numbers of them periſhed for want of nourishment, accommodation, and freſh air. The miſeries they afterwards ſuffered on the road were ſuch, that the bare deſcription of them muſt be ſhocking to the humane reader; and many, no doubt, obtained the crown of martyrdom, before they reached the places of their exile. Nevertheleſs, a much greater number ſurmounted all thoſe grievous hardſhips, and lived to exhibit proofs of amazing patience and intrepidity in the ſequel ².

Horrid perſecution of the orthodox.

However, it was not long before the divine Providence was pleaſed to put a ſtop to their ſufferings, by the ſudden

² Marian Hiſt. Hiſpan. lib. v. cap. 3. Viſtor. Procop. & al. ſup. citat.

² De his vide Jornandes, Procop. Viſtor.

and exemplary death of their persecutor, who, after a short and bloody reign of a few months above seven years, was taken off by a dreadful disease which the Christian writers have imputed to the vengeance of Heaven, for his having so cruelly persecuted the true orthodox, Christian faith.

A. D. 496.

*Gutamund,
3d king of
the African
Vandals,*

*recalls the
orthodox
from banishment.*

Huneric, though he had a son named Hilderic, by the princess Eudocia, was not succeeded by him, but by a grandson of Genferic, named Gutamund, or Guntamund; who, we are told by Isidore and Procopius, was the son of Genfon, Genferic's eldest son, and so probably preferred to Hilderic, in conformity to his grandfather's will.

This prince, who had been brought up in the Arian heresy, with the rest of that monarch's family, stained the beginning of his reign with many cruelties against the catholics; but when he had got the quiet possession of the crown, touched with a lively sense of the many and dreadful calamities which his uncle's furious and untimely zeal had brought upon them, he immediately resolved to put an effectual end to the still raging persecution, to recall as many of those pious sufferers as had out-lived the fatigues and miseries of their exile, to restore them to their churches and flocks, and to a full and free exercise of their religion^b.

*Restores the
African
church to
its pristine
state.*

He began with Eugenius, the late metropolitan of Carthage, a prelate of consummate wisdom and piety, as the fittest person to advise and assist him in his charitable design. These two joined their counsels and authorities with such success, that the African clergy, both secular and regular, were almost every where restored to their pristine seats, functions, and privileges, and the African church seemed to have wholly recovered its ancient splendor; when on a sudden all was eclipsed again, by the unexpected death of their pious monarch. Gutamund died in the twelfth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his brother Thrasamund, a prince of quite opposite principles and temper; who quickly undid all that he had done, and renewed the persecution against the orthodox, with redoubled fury. He immediately ordered all the churches to be shut up, the monasteries to be sequestered, together with all their revenues, as well as those of the secular clergy. He carried his resentment so far against the latter, on account of their loud censures and complaints, that he banished an incredible number of them, some amongst the

His death.

*Thrasa-
mund, 4th
king of the
Vandals,
revives the
persecution
against
them.*

^b Viſt. Uticenſ. & al. ſup. citat.

idolatrus Moors, and others into some of his grandfather's conquered dominions in Europe. Among them were no less than one hundred and twenty bishops, whom he confined in the island of Sardinia. At the head of these was the learned Fulgentius, by nation an African, a prelate of great merit and piety. All of them, having been before hand stripped of every thing, must unavoidably have perished through want and misery, had not the then pope Symachus taken them into his care and protection; and partly out of his own purse, and partly by the assistance of other generous Christians, secured to them a comfortable maintenance during their exile^c. By this time the Arians had mounted to the summit of power and insolence, no one daring to oppose, or even open their mouths against them, without danger of incurring their zealous patron's highest resentment; whilst the poor orthodox clergy, being destitute of their old pastors, were easily led, either by fear or love, to comply, at least outwardly, with their new guides; so that Thrasamund had now little or nothing to fear, either from foreign or domestic enemies. He had found time and opportunity to enlarge his dominions, and to reduce many of the Moorish princes under him; the rest were either tributary, or firmly attached to him against the only common enemy that could oppose his measures, and who were at that time in no condition to attempt it, any more than the Ostrogoths and Visigoths of Spain and Italy, whose hands were then full of their own intestine wars. There was however a person whom he seemed to be apprehensive of, and that one of his own family; but whether justly or wrongfully, is not easy to determine. This was prince Hilderic, the grandson of Genferic, by the princess Eudocia, who was to succeed him in course to the Vandalic throne. To ward off therefore all danger from that side, he obliged him to engage himself, by the most solemn oaths, not to make any change in the religion or government he had been all this while taking the properest measures to establish upon the most solid foundation, and by no means to take the least step in favour of the orthodox, or to recall any of the banished clergy. Thrasamund having thus barred, as he imagined, all avenues to sinister adventures, finished his reign in quiet, and died after a reign of twenty-six years, in the city of Carthage, the royal residence of his predecessors, ever since Genferic had treacherously got it into his possession^d.

120 bishops banished.

His measures to establish Arianism.

Makes his successor swear to follow them.

Dies.

^c Id. *ibid.*

^d Procop. Victor. & al. *ubi supra.*

A. D. 524.

*Hilderic 5th
king of the
Vandals.*

Hilderic, who had taken that solemn oath against the orthodox with no other view than to quiet Thrasamund's suspicion, and to prevent his taking any measures to deprive him of the succession, whilst he was in his heart resolved to recall all the surviving exiles, and to restore them to their former dignities and functions, was not a little puzzled at his accession to the crown, how to act consistently with his pious resolutions, without incurring the guilt of perjury, and at the same time exasperating the powerful and vindictive Arians. The constraint and unlawfulness of the oath might, indeed, quiet his conscience, and absolve him for the breach of it; but then he had every thing to fear from the strenuous and desperate opposition of his enemies, as well as from the wretched and helpless state to which the orthodox were by that time reduced.

*His zeal for
the ortho-
dox.*

These considerations obliged him to proceed with the utmost caution and secrecy, and to suspend every overt-act which might awaken the jealousy of the one, or the expectations of the other, till he had firmly settled himself on the throne, and was in a condition to curb the power and insolence of his foes, and to inspirit his desponding friends to exert themselves in his and their own defence.

*His too hasty
manifesto in
their fa-
vour.*

The misfortune was, that his zeal, whether excited by the solicitations of his mother, who was zealously orthodox, or by the sufferings and complaints of the exiled clergy, hurried him away too soon from his wise precautions into an open declaration of his designs, before he had sufficiently secured himself against the oppositions of the Arian partizans. He caused a manifesto to be published, in the most solemn manner; both in the metropolis and other parts of his dominions; in which he not only condemned, but disannulled and repealed, all the acts and edicts of his predecessors, especially of the late Thrasamund, either against the orthodox, or in favour of Arianism; recalled all those who had been banished by him, and restored them to their ancient churches, functions, and privileges ^d.

*Defeated by
Gilimer,
the 6th and
last king of
the Vandals.*

Our readers will easily imagine what surprize and indignation such an unexpected edict must have raised among the whole Arian body, and what bitter reflections and invectives they vented against the author of it. But this was far from being the worst effect of their resentment, which quickly broke out into an open rebellion; at the head whereof was one of the princes of the blood, named

^d Isidor. Procop. Victor. & al. sup. citat.

Gilimer, or Gildimer, a zealous stickler for Arianism, and no less inveterate an enemy to Hilderic, not only on account of his friendship for the orthodox, but of his effeminacy and indolence; which made him neglect the care of his realm, and the command of his army, and commit the whole management of both to a favourite relation named Almer.

We are told by some historians, that this rebel found means to ingratiate himself with the Vandals, so as to procure the king's deposition, in the seventh year of his reign, and himself to be appointed his successor: whilst others tell us, that he obtained the crown by force of arms, and that he pursued his treason with such a desperate fury as quickly brought the contest to a decisive battle; in which the unfortunate Hilderic was defeated, taken prisoner, and deprived at once of his crown and liberty.

Gilimer, immediately after his victory, seized upon the throne, and caused himself to be crowned at Carthage. Having ordered the unhappy Hilderic and all his sons to be closely imprisoned, and kept under a strong guard, he exercised the most cruel tyranny, not only on the recalled exiles, but upon many of the orthodox Vandals, who had been induced to leave Spain, and to come and settle in that part of Africa, during the late reign. The churches were again shut up, the clergy proscribed, and stripped of their benefices and revenues; all the former edicts in their favour repealed and cancelled, and new decrees issued out in favour of Arianism, and the African church.

Gilimer's triumph over it however was but short-lived. The arbitrary sway with which he tyrannized over his subjects, joined to the loud complaints of the exiled clergy, prevailed upon the emperor Justinian, notwithstanding the Persian and other wars he had then upon his hands, to send a powerful fleet and army thither, under the conduct of the celebrated Belisarius; who was for that end recalled from Persia, and appointed commander of that important expedition. We are, indeed, told, that he tried by fair means and friendly embassies to procure the enlargement of the imprisoned clergy; but they had no other effect, but that of provoking him to cause them to be more closely confined, and to order the hated Almer to be deprived of his eyes. To shew how little he valued the emperor's friendship, or feared his resentment, he at the same time equipped a squadron against him, which seized on the city of Tripoli, and the island of Sardinia.

The orthodox persecuted.

Justinian sends a powerful army against him, under Belisarius.

While

*Invaded by
him.*

While Justinian was employed in making preparations for this African expedition, the Vandalic tyrant was so taken up with his pleasures on the one hand, and his persecutions on the other, that he knew little or nothing of the impending storm. When he was, at length, apprised of it, instead of taking the properest precautions of defence, he fell upon such measures as paved the way to the enemy's success. He hastened his own fate by the most horrid tyrannies and bloodshed, sparing neither friends nor foes, nor even his own relations, upon the least surmise or jealousy conceived against them; so that he was now become odious and detested by all his subjects. This disaffection increased, when, upon his hearing of the approach of Belisarius, he caused the unhappy Hilderic and all his children, his brother Everagenes, and others of his near relations, to be butchered. Vast numbers of his Vandals, who had embraced the orthodox faith, and dispersed themselves into other parts of Africa, to avoid the like fate, were ready to join the Roman forces at their arrival; whilst the far greater part of even his Arians had by this time conceived such an abhorrence against him, on account of his tyrannical government and horrid cruelties, that they had neither heart nor will to fight in his defence.

This was the sad condition he had brought himself to, when Belisarius appeared upon the Carthaginian coasts. Gilimer knew too well what an enemy he had to encounter, not to make all the necessary preparations against him; which, however, happily proved abortive, as the event, so disgraceful and fatal to him, and so glorious and advantageous to his vanquisher, plainly shewed.

*Gilimer's
two brothers de-
feated and
slain.*

Our narrow limits will not permit us to enter into a detail of this war, of which the reader may see a full account in Procopius, who was an eye-witness, and hath described it at length in two books. It will be sufficient to say, that Gilimer committed the management of it to his two brothers, Gundimer and Gelamund; who accordingly attacked the Romans at the head of a numerous force; when, after an obstinate and bloody conflict on both sides, they were defeated and slain, and their army totally routed.

*He sallies
out against
the enemy,
but loses the
opportunity
of defeating
them.*

Gilimer, rendered desperate by this overthrow, sallied out at the head his corps de reserve, with full purpose to renew the attack with the utmost vigour and fury; but by his own indiscretion or ill-fate lost the fairest opportunity of retrieving his affairs, and overcoming the enemy. For no sooner did the victors perceive Gilimer, at the head of a fresh army, hastening after them, than they be-
took

took themselves to flight: nay, the greatest part of the Greek army was quite dispersed, and so far routed, that, had Gilimer followed them close, he would inevitably have cut them all in pieces, made prize of their navy, secured his own metropolis, and prevented all the disasters and misfortunes that fell upon him afterwards. Instead of acting with spirit, he wasted the precious time in lamentations over the dead body of his brother, which he happened to distinguish on the field; and Belisarius seized this opportunity to rally the troops, and bring them back to the charge. Whilst that general was, with another corps, in the heat of his pursuit after the Vandals, intelligence was brought to him of the disorder into which the approach of Gilimer had thrown the rest of his army. He made all the dispatch he could to reduce them again to order, and leading them back against the Vandal, at the first onset gained a complete victory. Gilimer now seeing his affairs grown quite desperate, and no means left to rally his troops, betook himself to flight, but was, some months after, reduced by famine to surrender himself to the Roman general.

Put to flight by Belisarius.

Carthage being then the only place of strength, Belisarius moved next day after the battle to that metropolis with his army, and reached it that very evening. He found the gates of it open, and the citizens expressing their joy at his arrival, by bonfires and illuminations; yet he would not enter it on that night for fear of some ambush from the Vandalic garrison; who, on their part, were under the utmost consternation, and had taken refuge in their temples and other places of safety. On the same day his fleet came to anchor in sight of the city, at the port called Mandracium: the inhabitants, instead of opposing their entrance, ordered the large iron chain which closed it to be taken down. In that place was a dismal prison, where vast numbers of prisoners of state had been confined by Gilimer, and who expected every hour was to be their last, being wholly ignorant of what had happened abroad. To these the Roman general paid a kind visit, which at first filled them with fear and dread; but upon his asking them at what price they would be willing to buy their lives and liberties, they readily offered him their all. Upon which he told them, that he would exact but one thing from them in return; namely, that when set free they should give him what assistance they could in case of need; to which proposal they eagerly agreed, and he immediately caused their prison gates to be flung open.

March to Carthage.

Next

Enters Carthage, and seizes on the throne and treasures of Gilimer.

Next day, he caused his other forces to disembark; and having ranged them with the rest in order of battle, for fear of some ambush or unforeseen stratagem, he began his march towards the city, after having strictly forbidden his troops to plunder, or offer any kind of outrage to the inhabitants. Accordingly he entered it in triumph, without the least opposition; and, proceeding to the royal palace, took possession of Gilimer's throne, and soon after of all his immense wealth and treasure: then he caused all the churches to be restored to the orthodox, and the Vandals to take the oaths to the Roman emperor. But his principal care was to rebuild the walls and fortifications of the city, which had been so neglected by the Vandal princes that a great part of them were gone to ruin^f.

Gilimer seeks in vain for aid.

All this while, Gilimer had been endeavouring to annoy the Romans, with petty hostilities, and by hiring the Moors to bring him all their stragglers and marauders, at so much a-head. He had likewise tried in vain to get fresh succours from Theudis, king of the Goths in Spain, as well as from the Moorish princes, and other states of Africa; to whom he sent splendid embassies, under pretence of joining with them in an alliance against the Romans. But Theudis was already too well acquainted with his desperate state, in spite of all the false glosses he put upon it, to venture any of his troops into Africa, to fall a prey to the conquering enemy. And as to the Moorish chiefs, Belisarius had taken such care by that time to gain the greatest part of them over to his side, and to get hostages from them for their good faith, that few of them dared to give him the least assistance. His last refuge, therefore, was to recall his brother Tzafon from his Sardinian conquests to his assistance; who made all possible dispatch to sail back, and joined his small army in the plains of Bulla, on the confines of Mauritania.

Resolve to besiege Carthage.

Here they came to a mutual resolution to make one more desperate attempt to regain their lost kingdom, and to make a bold attack upon that new fortified metropolis. Gilimer, upon this occasion, betrayed such pusillanimity as inspired them rather with horror and contempt, than ardour for his cause. However, as he did not so much depend upon their zeal and courage, as upon his own policy, he did not doubt of succeeding in it, by bribing their auxiliaries to his interest. He accordingly attempted, and

^f Procop. lib. i. cap. 23. Vide & al. sup. citat.

prevailed with those whom he knew to be highly discontented, to turn their arms against the Romans, by assuring them that they would be joined by all his Arian Vandals, and other mal-contented. Belisarius was not without some apprehensions from these two quarters, which made him the more watchful over them; but partly by making an example of one of the latter, and partly by the most generous engagements to the former, he prevented all farther consequences of that conspiracy. However, he thought it more expedient to lead his forces out against the enemy, than to trust too far to the fortifications of the place, or the fidelity of the citizens; and having animated them by a suitable speech, marched at their head against the Vandalic army^s. Gilimer and his brother Tzason were not tardy on their part, in using all proper means to inspire their forces with courage and loyalty on this important crisis. Both sides came soon to a decisive engagement, in which the Romans, contrary to their usual foresight, were surprised by the Vandals just as they were going to dinner, and had scarce time enough to arm themselves against them. The onset, however, was furious on both sides; the right and left wings of the Vandalic army were composed of Moors, commanded by their own chiefs; the centre consisted of Vandals, whom Gilimer had forbidden to use either bow or spear, or any other weapon but their swords; and his brother, with his own troops, brought up the rear. A small nameless river parted the armies, over which Belisarius dispatched one of his brave captains, at the head of a sufficient corps, to begin the onset, who was twice repulsed by the enemy; but returning a third time, with a stronger force, and the pretorian standard, a dreadful slaughter soon ensued on both sides; in which the brave Tzason, who fought with desperate courage, was slain, with eight hundred of his choicest men, and the rest were put to flight. The Romans lost only fifty men; towards evening, Belisarius moving forward with all speed, at the head of his army, fell suddenly on the Vandalic camp, a circumstance which Gilimer no sooner understood, than he mounted his horse, attended only by a few soldiers, and galloped away towards Numidia, in the utmost consternation. His flight occasioned such a panic and confusion among his troops, that they abandoned their camp to the Romans, who plundered it of all its wealth and riches,

Belisarius marches against the Vandals.

Tzason slain.

Gilimer's shameful flight.

^s Procop. ubi sup. lib. ii. cap. 1, & seq.

massacred every male they found in it, and made the women captives.

This last defeat put at once a total end to the Vandalic power in Africa, and left the Romans once more masters of that rich country, of immense wealth, and a vast number of prisoners. As for the rest of the Vandalic inhabitants, those were permitted to remain in the country, on condition that they, who were still infected with the Arian heresy, should embrace the orthodox faith.

*Pursued by
Belisarius.*

Next morning, Belisarius being informed of the king's flight, lost no time to go in pursuit of him as far as the city of Hippo, distant about ten days journey from Carthage. Here he was told, that the fugitive prince had already gained the Pappuan mountain, which was almost inaccessible, and taken refuge with the Moors, in the ancient town of Medemus. Being unwilling to lose his prisoner on one hand, and afraid on the other to be so long absent from his capital, as the siege of that place would require, he committed the conduct of it to one of his experienced officers, named Pharas, a man of great courage and fidelity, with orders to block up all the avenues to the town, so as to prevent the introduction of supplies, and entirely cut off its communication with the country. Before his departure from this sea-port, he had the good fortune to be put in possession of an immense deal of wealth, which Gilimer had ordered to be transported from thence to Spain, but was driven back by contrary winds, and helped to complete that prince's misfortunes; who being then kept closely besieged, with his sister, his nearest relations and friends, on the top of a barren mountain, and destitute of all supplies from abroad, saw nothing before him but want and misery. Pharas, being repulsed in repeated attempts to gain the summit, converted the siege into a blockade; but, still the enemy endured the extremity of famine, with the most obstinate resolution; and even Gilimer, with his family, sustained every species of distress. Pharas being apprised of their sufferings, wrote

*Exhorted to
surrender,
but refuses
to do it.*

a most friendly and pathetic letter, earnestly exhorting him to extricate himself and family from their present misery, by a submissive surrender of himself to the noble and generous Belisarius. He was, however, highly surprised at the strangeness of the answer he received from him; in which, on the one hand, he utterly declined his friendly advice, and, on the other, concluded with the most submissive request, that he would so far pity his great distress as to send him a loaf of bread, a sponge, and

*Mournful
request.*

a lute,

a lute. Pharas was not a little grieved at his resolution, but was still more puzzled at the oddness of his request, till explained by the messenger in words to this effect: that the king had not tasted any baked bread since his arrival on that mountain, and earnestly longed to eat a morsel of it before he died; the sponge he wanted to allay a tumour that was fallen upon one of his eyes; and the lute, on which he had learned to play, was to assist him in setting some elegiac verses he had composed on the subject of his misfortunes, to a suitable tune. The good Herulean, who could not refrain from tears at this mournful report, immediately dispatched the messenger with the things requested.

Gilimer had spent near three winter months on that inhospitable mountain, his misery still hardening him the more against the thoughts of surrendering, when a melancholy scene in his own family presented it self to his view, which at once reconciled him to captivity. It was a bloody struggle between two boys, the one his sister's son, about a cake of dough laid on the coals; which the one seized on, burning hot as it was, and clapped into his mouth, and the other, by dint of blows, forced it out, and ate it from him; a contest which might have ended fatally for both, had not Gilimer interposed. The sight made so deep an impression on him, that he immediately dispatched a messenger to Pharas, acquainting him that he was now ready to surrender himself, his men, and all his effects, on the conditions he had offered him, as soon as he was assured that they were embraced by Belisarius. Pharas lost no time to get them ratified, and sent back to him; and gladly conducted him and his retinue to Belisarius's head-quarters. Upon his approaching that general, we are told he broke out into a loud fit of laughter, which was variously interpreted; but was most probably owing to a delirium, occasioned by so long a series of misfortunes. Belisarius, however, gave him a reception suitable to his dignity. Having settled his Carthaginian affairs, he set sail with him for Constantinople with the first fair wind; and at his arrival presented him to the emperor Justinian, with all the immense riches he had brought away from Africa. The unhappy Gilimer was introduced to the emperor, fettered with golden chains, his crown upon his head, his eyes gushing out floods of tears, and his bosom heaving with unutterable woe. His voice was so much interrupted by groans, that he could only pronounce in broken accents, the words of the wise

*Surrender
to Pharas.*

*Brought
prisoner to
Constanti-
nople.*

man, "vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas^b." Having, at length, recovered himself, he begged of the emperor, in the most submissive terms, that his life might be spared. This request was readily granted him, together with a handsome yearly pension for him to live as a private gentleman. But his mind and heart were too unsettled and broken to enjoy long, much less relish, the sweets of a private state; so that growing daily more and more unable to bear the grievous weight of his disgrace, guilt, and shame, he died of grief, in the fifth year of his unhappy reign, the first after his captivity. Thus Africa being freed from the Vandalic yoke, after having groaned under it, according to the best authors, the space of one hundred and seventeen years, was once more reduced to the obedience of the Greek emperors, and governed by their generals or prefects. By this change, however, affairs of religion took a more favourable turn, the banished bishops and clergy were recalled, and gladly returned to their respective charges. The churches were again opened, the ecclesiastical revenues restored, and Arianism was banished from that country.

A. D. 534.

His death.

A. D. 539.

New revolt raised by the Moors.

It was not long, however, before the prosperous state of the orthodox, as well as the tyranny of the Greek prefects, occasioned a new revolt among the idolatrous Moors; which was like to have proved as fatal to Christianity, as the Vandalic tyranny had been; insomuch that Justinian was again obliged to dispatch thither one of his best generals, named Solomon, an eunuch; who, by his valour and conduct, quickly reduced, and kept them quiet for a short time; that is, till again provoked by the ill treatment of the Greeks, they fell upon him, as the author or encourager of it, and assassinated him two years after his arrival. The emperor, on the news of Solomon's death, sent thither a relation of his, named Ariobindas, in quality of proconsul; who was scarce seated in his government, before he was murdered by Gundibundus, one of the late Solomon's captains, who was then at the head of the army; but was soon after defeated and put to death by Artabanes, a Persian, Ariobindas's successor. Thus peace was again restored to that province, and the Moors were effectually quelled and kept underⁱ.

All this while, however, the Vandals were not so totally destroyed, nor the Moors so thoroughly reduced, but that vast numbers of the former were dispersed amongst

^b Eccles. i. 1.

ⁱ Procop. & al. sup. citat.

the latter, and ready to join forces against the Greeks, upon the least probability of success. These discontents in all probability encouraged the plundering Arabs and Saracens, who had already invaded Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, to penetrate still farther towards these parts. At this juncture, they came pouring in like a torrent; and having defeated the prefect Gregory, not only drove the Greek forces out of it, and made themselves masters of all that fruitful tract, under the khalif Omar; but, by degrees, enlarged their conquests on that continent much farther than the Romans had ever done.

A. D. 544.

Arabs invade and plunder it.

This irresistible inundation soon wrought a considerable change in the African government wherever it spread itself; especially among the natives, who had continued strangers to the weight of the Roman and Vandalic yoke, knew no subjection to any but their own natural chiefs, and could ill brook that of the Arabian cheyks. At the same time the khalif Omar, who was by his vast conquests and successes become exceedingly powerful, sent his general Amru to conquer the western part of Africa; who marched thither at the head of a powerful army; or, as others affirm, detached Okba Ben Nafir, with twenty-four thousand men on that expedition. This general accordingly made himself master of all the country between Barka and Zaweilah, and obliged the people to pay the same tribute which they had paid to the Greek emperor's prefects. Some add, that Amru built the city of Kayrwan, or Cairavan, more corruptly Cairvan and Cairwan, about thirty miles distant from Tunis, and anciently Cyrene, the capital of Cyrenaica. It was afterwards demolished by order of the khalif Moawiyah, and a new town built near it; which afterwards became the residence of the Fatemite khalifs, who conquered the whole province, and made it the capital. We have, in our history of Mohammed, given an account of these schismatics, and the cause of that fatal rupture, which gave occasion to the founding of this new dynasty, in opposition to that of the Abbassides; who, on that account, have never called it by any other name than that of Obeidite, from Obeid'allah, its founder.

A. D. 547.

Kayrwan, capital of

Fatemite dynasty founded.

Obeid'allah took upon himself the surname or title of Al Mohdi, or Al Mahedi, or *director*, the better to support his new dignity of khalif; which he founded on a traditional prophecy of Mohammed, that at the end of three hundred years from the Hejra the sun should rise out of the West. Accordingly, we are told, that he be-

Obeid'allah Al Mohdi, 1st khalif,

A. D. 910. gan to signalize himself in that part of Africa about the year 296, or 298, and drove the Aglabites, who had seated themselves there, and in Sicily, under the khalifat of Moktasi, out of the latter, and obliged them to retire into Egypt; whilst he, extending his conquests over that whole province, then called from its western situation Maghreb, applied that prophecy to himself, and set up the next year for a second prophet or director, assuming the name and title of Khalil Al Mohdi. He made Kairwan the place of his residence, and capital of his dominions, whilst he was laying the foundations of a more opulent city, near it, on the same coast, which he designed to call by his new surname Mohdi or Mohedia; but, not living to see it finished, he left that task to his son and successor, who, upon that account, probably claimed the title of Mohdi, and the honour of founding the Fatemite dynasty, and is accordingly acknowledged as such by several Arabic writers.

A. D. 933. We have already given an account of his other conquests and exploits in Africa and Sicily, more particularly in Egypt, under his successful general Habasah; his reduction of the two famed cities of Barka and Alexandria, as well as of his last defeat, and being forced to abandon that kingdom by the superior forces of the khalif Moktader; by which the reader may judge of the excess of power and grandeur to which he had raised his new kingdom. He reigned, according to the best authors, twenty-four years, and died in the sixty-third year of his age, and the 322d of the Hejra; which was the first of the khalifat of Al Radi at Baghdad.

*Al Kayem,
2d khalif.*

*His conquest, and
defeat in
Egypt.*

He was succeeded by his eldest son Abu'l Kaffem Mohammed, who then took the surname of Al Kayem Mohdi. He had signalized himself in war in his father's reign; who had sent him into Egypt at the head of an army of one hundred thousand men, where he had gained some victories against the Magnebian, and over-run a considerable part of that rich country. He was, however, at length totally defeated, and forced to abandon all his conquests, by the superior forces of khalif Moktader, in the 308th year of the Hejra. When he came to the khalifat, he thought fit to conceal his father's death for a while, for some reasons of state, which the Arabic writers have not thought fit to transmit; and was at last proclaimed khalif in his capital, and reigned twelve years; during which time we read of nothing memorable, except the revolt which was raised by the Yezid Ebn Condat,

dat, of the tribe of Zenal, a man of mean extraction, be-
come by this time chancellor, and in very great power
under him; in which he was supported by such a strong
party, that the khalif was obliged to shut himself up, and
fortify himself in the castle of Mohedia. Yezid was then
at the head of a powerful army, by the help of which he
soon reduced the capital of Kayrwan, the cities of Al
Rakkada and Tunis, together with several other fortresses.
He was no less successful in defeating a considerable num-
ber of troops, which Al Kayem had raised and sent against
him, to stop his progress: over these he gained a complete
victory, after which he led his forces directly to the castle
where the khalif lay intrenched, and besieged him closely
for seven months; by which time he was reduced to such
distress, for want of provisions, that he must have been
forced to surrender, or be starved, when death put an end
to his anxiety and reign. He was succeeded by his mar-
tial son Ishmael, who took upon him the title or surname
of Al Mansûr, and quickly after his accession severely re-
venged the affront offered to his father by the traitor
Yezid.

*Conspired
against by
Yezid.*

*Closely be-
sieged in
his capital.*

A. D. 945.

His death.

*Succeeded
by Al
Mansûr;*

Al Mansûr, however, thought proper to conceal his
father's death for some months, whilst he was privately
making all proper preparations to fall upon the rebels
with a sufficient force, to put an end to that revolt. He
proved so successful in it, that he obliged Yezid to raise
the siege of Mohdi, or Mohedia; which he entered in
triumph. In the course of the following year, he gave
him two signal overthrows, and obliged him to shut him-
self up in the strong fortress of Kottama, or Cutama;
where he closely besieged him in his turn. Yezid de-
fended the place a considerable time, but perceiving his ef-
forts frustrated, and the garrison obliged to capitulate, he
found means to retire privately. Al Mansûr, finding his
victim escaped, immediately dispatched a number of forces
in pursuit of him, who overtook, and brought him back
in fetters, but not till after a vigorous defence, in which
he received several dangerous wounds, and died a few
days after in the dungeon where he was confined, to be
reserved for a severer and more exemplary punishment.
Al Mansûr, vexed at the disappointment, caused his bo-
dy to be flayed, and his skin stuffed and exposed to public
view. Having made this example, he entered his capital
a second time in triumph, and ordered the news of Ye-
zid's death, and of the total suppression of the rebels, to
be proclaimed through all his dominions. We have else-

*who raises
the siege of
his capital,
and defeats
the rebels.*

*Yezid is
wounded,
and dies.*

A. D. 952.

*Al Man-
für's death.*

*Is succeeded
by Al Mo-
ezz.*

where mentioned his other conquests in Sicily; but meet with nothing remarkable concerning his reign in Africa, except that death put an end to it in the 341st year of the Hejra, after a short reign of seven years and sixteen days. He died in his own capital of Mohedia, extolled for his magnanimity and eloquence. Some Arabic writers compliment him with the titles of Mansûr Benafa'allah, and of third Fatemite khalif; and add, that he was the founder of the city of Mansurah, in Egypt; where the Franks, with their first monarch at their head, were defeated^k; whilst Abul'feda, who makes no mention of any such thing, gives him no higher title than that of emir of Libya^l. He left the khalifat of Kayrwan to his son Abu Zammim Moad, or Mahad, who took the surname of Al Moezz Ledini'llah; and, among other conquests, having made himself master of Egypt, removed the seat of the khalifat to Al Kayro, and became the head of the Fatemite dynasty in that country.

*Removes
the khalifat
to Egypt.*

Al Moezz reigned a long time; some say twenty years, in his old African dominions, and made Kayrwan and Mohedia alternately the seats of his residence. We have formerly given an account of the bloody contest he had with Abdalrahman, the then khalif of Andalusia, and the severe reprisals his powerful fleet made on him; by which our readers may judge to what height of power the khalifat of Kayrwan had been raised by this time both by sea and land. We have likewise related how greatly he enlarged his dominions in Africa, as a proof of the one, and his signal and surprising victories over the Greek fleet, as a pregnant instance of the other. All these not only helped to spread abroad the terror of his arms, but did moreover facilitate and pave the way to his most favourite design, the wrenching of the kingdom of Egypt out of the hands of the Abbasside khali's, and making it the place of his residence, and the scene of his new dynasty.

This conquest, which he had never lost sight of, though his predecessors had all miscarried in it, he did not begin to put in execution till the year of the Hejra 358; when, having made all necessary provisions for it, he committed the management of the expedition to his faithful and experienced general named Giafar, or Jaafar. In the mean time this enterprize did not divert Al Moezz from the care of his other foreign conquests, especially those in

^k D'Herbel. ubi supra, sub voc. Mansour.
Chron. ad an.

^l Abulfed.
Sicily

Sicily and Sardinia; to the last of which he failed in the year of the Hejra 361, and continued a whole year in it; leaving the care of his African dominions to an experienced officer named Yusef Ben Zeiri. He failed thence, in the year following, for Tripoli, in Barbary; where he had not staid long before he received the agreeable news, that his general had made himself master of the city of Alexandria. He immediately embarked for that place, leaving the government of his old African dominions in the hands of his trusty servant Yusef above mentioned, and arrived safely at Alexandria; where he was received with all the demonstrations of joy. Here he began to lay the foundation of his new Egyptian dynasty; which was to put a final end to the old one of Kayrwan, after it had continued about the space of sixty-five years. Our readers will find a full account of the former in the subsequent history of Egypt, to which it more properly belongs; and we shall close the latter with observing, that Al Moezz preserved all his new conquests, as well as his old dominions of Kayrwan or Africa Proper, under his subjection, and under proper governors; but the ambition of these, or rather their avarice, suffered them to run quickly into a shameful decay; particularly, the new and opulent metropolis of Mohedia, on which its magnificent founder had lavished immense sums, as well as labour and care, to render it not only the richest and stateliest, but the strongest city in the world. We may truly say, the wealth and splendor of this once-famed, though short-lived state, took its final leave of it at the departure of its last possessor; seeing that whole maritime tract from the Egyptian confines to the Straights of Gibraltar, after having long been the melancholy scene of the most bloody and destructive wars with the Spaniards and other European powers, became at length the nest and property of a most odious piratical crew, under whose tyranny it hath groaned ever since. The Arabs, in the inland parts, are the offspring of those plunderers that first over-ran the greater part of Africa. One part of whom, laden with the richest spoils of this country, returned to their own native seats, whilst the other, and perhaps by far the greater, settled in the most pleasant and fertile lands; built castles and fortresses to secure their new habitations; and not only intermixed themselves gradually with the natives, especially the Berbers in these parts of Barbary, but in time came to domineer over them, and by their continual plunders and exactions re-

Great decay of his old dominions.

Other governments in Arabia.

Natives oppressed by the Arabs.

duced them to the lowest pitch of misery and servitude; till at length they fell, in their turn, into as great a degree of slavery under the Turks.

A. D. 1051.

*Shake off
their yoke.*

On the other hand, upon the decline of the Arabic Mohammedans, three of the five tribes of Africans, which went thither with their leader Melek Ifriki (B), being no less tired and galled with the Arabian yoke, wrenched the reins out of their hands, and governed successfully in Biledulgerid, Libya, and Barbary; so that whilst the Fezian family, which founded the city of Fez, reigned over the two Mauritanias, and that of the Abd'al-raman, which had passed over into Spain, reigned in Cordova, one of the branches of the Zeneti, named Mequinez, erected itself into a kingdom. These were succeeded by another branch of the same tribe, named Magaroans, who stripped

(B) These, according to our Arabic authors, who make them to be descended from the tribes of the Sabæans, were, 1. the Zinhaghii; 2. Muzamadini; 3. Zenæti, or Zineti; 4. Gomerii; and 5. Hoarez, from whom, he tells us, six hundred capital families of Berbers, and the most considerable ones in Africa, owe their origin. They settled first in Barbary, and from thence gradually dispersed themselves over the greatest part of Africa.

The Zinhaghians inhabited for the most part, along the mountainous parts of Barca, Nefusa, and Gueneseris, whilst others of them intermixed themselves with the Zeneti. The Muzamadini spread farther westwards along the coast, even beyond the streights of Gibraltar, or Mauritania Tingitania, along the ridge of the Great Atlas, and plains adjacent, the whole length of the four provinces of Hea, Sus, Gezilla, and Morocco, where

they formerly made a great figure, but are since dwindled into a poor contemptible people.

A number of them likewise joined the Zeneti, and settled in the province of Tremecen, which is the most western one of the kingdom of Tunis, and became very powerful. Others occupied that of Constantina and Tunis, and have been at perpetual war with the Turks, as we shall see in the history of that kingdom; but the most powerful, free, and numerous branch of them is that which settled in Numidia and Libya, with whom the Hoares, who are vassals of the Zinhaghians, are likewise intermixed.

The Gomerians, once a very considerable tribe, sought habitations along the Little Mount Atlas, on the Mediterranean coasts, between the frontiers of Ceuta and those of Mauritania Tingitania (1).

(1) Ibni. Altrac. Genæl. Afric. Leo. African. lib. i. cap. 9. Marmol, lib. i. cap. 24.

that of the Abd'al-ramans, settled in Africa, of most of their conquered provinces. After having defeated them, and the Mequineze, they erected a new empire in Barbary, and made themselves masters of a great part of Numidia.

Not long after this event, a chief of the tribe of the Zinhaghians, named Abu Tefsin, or Abu Texifin, took up arms against the Magaroans, and, with the assistance of the Zinhaghians, Zeneti, and other Numidian tribes, having defeated both them and the Arabs, took upon him the title of emir mumenin, or *emperor of the faithful*. And hence it is that Arabic writers give that conqueror the title of Morabite, or Morabut, the most of the officers of his victorious army being men of that profession, who had embraced Mohammedism. These he had brought over, and sent about every where among the Africans, to exclaim against the tyranny and insolence of the Arabian cheyks, and to proclaim liberty to as many as should fight for it under his standards and victorious arms. By which means he quickly saw himself at the head of a powerful army, and in a condition to withstand these petty tyrants, not only the Zinhaghian and Zenetian tribes, but an infinite multitude of other volunteers out of Numidia, repairing to his standard, in hopes of regaining their promised freedom. Hence all the Spanish chronologers give his descendants, who signalized themselves in Spain the appellation of Al Moravides, by changing only the *b* into a *v*, with the addition of the particle, conformable to the Arabic idiom. However, the new emir, being now at the head of a numerous army, led them directly westward, took the city of Agmel, and soon after the province of Morocco, and gained so many victories over the Arabs and Magaroans, who inhabited these parts, as to be able to lay the foundation of that new empire, where we shall resume his history, and that of his kingdom, in another part of this work.

Among the five tribes, which we have given an account of, the Zeneti, Muzamadini, and Zinhaghians, have, at different times, reigned in Barbary, Numidia, and Libya, after the decline of the Arabian tyranny; for before that time they were all under the subjection of their cheyks: but during the reign of the Fezian family, that of the Mequineze, another branch of the Zeneti, usurped the empire; and after that, another branch of the same tribe, called the Magaroan, then settled in Numidia, stripped that of the Abd'al-ramans of fundry provinces they held

in

New kingdom erected.

Various changes of government.

in subjection in Africa, subdued the Mequinezze, and reigned over the greater part of Barbary and Numidia, though they were driven out of this last by the Zinhagian Septums, since nick-named Almoravites, or Morabuts^a.

It plainly appears, that the Zenetian tribe hath held by far the most considerable share in the government of this part of Africa, in one or the other of their families. The Mequinezians, however, were deprived of it by the new sect of Al Mohdians, or, as they are commonly called, Al Mohades, one of whose chiefs, a Morabut preacher, took upon him title of Al Mohdi, or Mohedi, signifying *a director of the law*, and became the ringleader of the sect, called from him by that name, as implying the orthodox or unitarians. This man's disciples were become so numerous and zealous, as to enable him to raise a revolt against the Almoravides: assisted by the Muzamadans, they waged a long and bloody war against them, and conquered the greater part of the country; but were at length reduced by another branch of the Zeneti, called the Benemerini; who were, in their turn, subdued by the Benistares, another branch and dynasty of the same tribe; which was at length driven out of Tingitania by the sharifs of Morocco.

Whatever names each successive branch hath thought fit to assume, in order to obtain or secure their government, as Almoravides and Almohedes, they all sprung from some of the five Zenetian tribes, especially from the three first: as for the two last, namely, the Gomerite and Hoarezan, though they have not erected themselves into eminent monarchies, yet they have enjoyed their respective governments under their own chiefs, in several considerable provinces, since the declension of the Arabic power, and are equally of the same Arabic extract as those cheyks which had preceded them during the khali-fat.

*The order
and course
of the sub-
sequent
African
history.*

Having now discussed every material point which relates to the general history of this vast continent, we shall proceed to the particular description of every empire and state contained in it; beginning with that of Egypt, as nearest to Asiatic Turkey, from whence we set out.

^a Leo, Grammay, Marmol, & al. *supra* citat.

C H A P. XLI.

The Modern History of Egypt.

S E C T. I.

Containing some curious and necessary Observations on the present State, with respect to its Natural History, by way of connecting it with its Ancient.

WHETHER the so much extolled fertility and populousness of Egypt hath or hath not been, in some measure at least, exaggerated by ancient writers, when they tell us that the former could not only supply so many millions of the latter with wheat and other grain more than sufficient, but send such vast quantities of it abroad, we will not pretend to determine. At present, when its inhabitants are scarcely the twentieth part so numerous, and every spot as much cultivated as then, it very rarely yields enough to support them, insomuch that they are forced to have recourse to other product for their sustenance: neither is their bread made, as anciently, of the finest wheat, but mostly of barley or millet flour; and this last of a larger and coarser kind, called by the Arabs dowra, which commonly yields fifty fold.

The former fertility of Egypt hath been ascribed to the great quantity of fat mud brought down by the waters of the Nile, and left upon the land as manure, after the inundation subsided; but at present there is no such mud to be seen in them; for they continue clear from the very beginning of the inundation till they are risen above seventeen feet; at which time, being swelled higher in the channel than usual, and running with greater rapidity, they bring along with them a brownish sort of loam, which they wash off from the borders, and which gives them a reddish colour, with the thickness or consistency of milk, but is quite different from the clayish mud above mentioned, from which they are quite exempt. That foul scurf which those waters leave upon the land after they are drained away, seems to be nothing else than the sediment of their ferment, impregnated with a large quantity of nitrous and concreted salts, which prove a much better manure than any supposed quantity of mud.

All

*Soil of
Egypt.*

All that hath been written likewise by ancient writers concerning the extraordinary fertility not only of the soil, but of the women and cattle, is now so far forgot, and contradicted by common experience, whatever may be the cause of that great decay, that it is hardly credited either by the present inhabitants, or by those who have been the most diligent enquirers into that so much celebrated fecundity, there being now no such superior degree to be observed in their females of all kinds above that of other parts of Africa, Asia, or any other warm country. Neither doth the climate here answer the character which hath been given of it, either with respect to its pleasantness or salubrity; for it is subject to many grievous distempers, and in particular to a disorder in the eyes, which often terminates in total blindness.

At Cairo, and other cities, a kind of pestilential fever rages from the vernal equinox to the next solstice, and carries off vast multitudes. The autumn usually introduces grievous carbuncles, and other swellings in the knees and thighs, which seldom fail of dispatching a patient in two or three days. The small-pox, which rages mostly in the winter season, causes likewise a dreadful havock among them; and during the whole time of the swelling of the Nile, the inhabitants are universally afflicted with the most stubborn dysenteries and bloody fluxes, occasioned by the great quantity of salts with which the waters of that river are then impregnated. Those northern breezes which blow from April to September, during the most sultry season of the year, though they greatly contribute to allay the excessive, and otherwise intolerable heat, yet prove very dangerous to those who expose themselves to them, especially while in a sweat; for then they occasion the most excruciating pains in every part of the body, and often end in an incurable dead-palsy^b.

*Egyptians
neglect all
precautions
against the
plague.*

We omit mentioning the plague, which is the more prevailing in all countries where Mohammedism is professed, because the natives use no means either to prevent or remedy it, being firmly persuaded that they are not only vain and ineffectual, but contrary to their doctrine of predestination (C). It is seldom found to have its rise in Egypt,

^b Vide Granger's Voyage to Egypt, an 1730. Pococke's Observations on Egypt, p. 95, & seq.

(C) We are indeed told, that and some other parts of the the Turks at Constantinople, Othman empire, have been prevailed

Egypt, through the putrefaction of the air, unless the waters of the Nile spread too far, or rise to too great a height, and occasion it by their long stagnation and the excessive heat of the season, but is commonly brought thither from Barbary, or from Greece and Syria: but let either of them rage ever so severely, as it doth chiefly in the first summer months, yet it is always observed to cease at the sun's entrance into Cancer, which is the time of the Nile's overflowing. The reason of which sudden change is owing to the wind's chopping about from the moist and sultry south, to the dry and refreshing north corner, which clears the air of all its infection.

There is another disease which the Egyptians are subject to, said to be occasioned by their eating beets, and other such olitories, which breed a viscous phlegm in the blood, and in time swell their legs to a monstrous bigness, which, though not painful to the persons so afflicted, doth yet render them unwieldy and sluggish both in walking and business. But there is still one more dreadful disease in Egypt, and especially about the territory of Grand Cairo, which we must not omit, as it seldom fails of affecting the inhabitants once every year, and carrying off multitudes daily all the time it lasts. The Arabians call it dem al muyah, from the nature of its effects, which are sudden and fatal; for the patient is seized with a species of apoplexy, which carries him off in an instant. About the same time children are usually seized with a malignant kind of small-pox, occasioned, probably, like the other, by the infectious damps of the waters of the Keileg, which is a branch, or rather canal, cut from the Nile to Alexandria. Every year, when that river rises above eight or ten cubits,

Dropsy, whence occasioned.

Apoplexy in Grand Cairo, how occasioned.

prevailed upon by the practice of the European merchants settled amongst them, to use all proper precautions and means against that destructive distemper; but the Egyptians, more tenacious of their prejudices, condemn all such wise precautions as vain and impious. They scorn to avoid infected persons or places, but even wear the cloaths of those who have died of that distemper. Their apparel, bed furniture, and household goods, are immediately exposed to sale in the public markets by the common cryer, and bought up: by which surprising obstinacy, the distemper hath been so far propagated, that in the city of Kayro it hath in six or seven months destroyed above five hundred thousand people (1).

(1) Vide Greenhill's Art of Embalming, let. ii. p. 166. Maillet, & al. ubi supra.

it falls into the canal, which runs quite through the city; and, on its relaxing, leaves the waters in a state of stagnation and corruption. They quickly turn green, then black, and at length exhale such pestilential steams as quite infect the air. To prevent the children from being destroyed by the poisonous stench above mentioned, their parents commonly remove them some time before the infection begins, to some remote and healthier habitations^c.

*Crocodiles,
and sea-
horses.*

This kingdom was infested with some of the most dangerous and destructive animals; such as crocodiles and sea-horses, which swarmed along the banks of the Nile, both in the Lower and Upper Egypt; but these have been so effectually destroyed in the former, that there are rarely any to be seen of either kind below the cataracts. The natives, as well as the Arabs, have proved equally industrious and diligent in finding means, at all hazards, to extirpate them in this, though they suffer them, more through indolence than cowardice, to range and ravage in most other parts of Africa.

*The ibis
starved
out of it.*

On the other hand, the ibis, anciently so numerous, and esteemed for the vast destruction they made among the whole serpentine species, are now become as rare and scarce for want of their proper food. They have been succeeded by a sort of inhabitants, known by the name of Ophiophagi, or *Serpent-eaters*; of whom, according to Shaw, there are above forty thousand, at Kayro and the adjacent villages, who live upon no other food than lizards and serpents; upon which account they were allowed, among other peculiar privileges, the honour of attending more immediately the black embroidered hangings, which are yearly sent from thence to the kaaba at Mecca.

*Succeeded
by the stork.*

To the ibis hath succeeded the stork, in such numbers, that the same reverend author tells us, he observed three flights of them in their passage from Egypt into Syria, as he lay at anchor at the foot of Mount Carmel, each of which took up more than three hours in passing by, and extended itself more than half a mile^d. The stork is held in great esteem and veneration, not only by the natives, but among the superstitious Mohammedans, who would deem it an inexpiable crime to offer it the least violence; not barely on account of the great service it is of in destroying an infinite number and variety of noxious insects, which cover the face of the earth after the inundation; but for the

^c Vide Mailler, let. 13. Norden, & al.
P. 430.

^d Shaw, ubi supra,

great share of conduct and prudence those birds display in their assembling, removing from, and settling in divers parts of the world, at proper and regular seasons of the year; more particularly on account of some of their motions and peculiar gesticulations, which they interpret as acts of religion and adoration of the supreme Being (D). But the greatest and most sensible changes that this country hath undergone, are those which have been occasioned by the tyranny of its various governments.

No sooner was this kingdom freed from the long and severe tyranny of the Mamluks, than it felt the weight of a still severer yoke under their Othman conquerors. Whether Selim, under whose banners it was reduced, did himself lay the foundation of its present government, or whether his successors have made any considerable change, is what we neither dare assert, nor, indeed, is it very material with respect to our present point, its sensible decay in wealth, strength, populousness, and fertility. It is, however, more than probable, that the avarice and ambition of those bashas hath gradually contributed to sink its condition from bad to worse, as it is the richest government the sultans have in their gift, and they usually bestow it either on their greatest favourites, or on those who can bid most money for it, who seldom, if ever, enter into it with any other view than to enrich themselves at the expence of the subjects, and never want means nor pretences for turning every thing to their advantage: neither, indeed, can it turn out otherwise, considering that, let the post have been obtained by favour or bribery, it seldom costs them less than between four and five hundred thousand crowns before they can reach Grand Cairo, the usual place of their residence*. Their commission being limited to one single year, if any bashaw obtains a prolongation of it, each additional year hath been purchased at the price of one hundred thousand crowns and upwards, besides the usual yearly sum of six hundred thousand more, which he is bound

Tyrannical government.

* Maillet, & al. ubi supra.

(D) These gesticulations chiefly consist in its throwing back its head as often as it alights on the ground, or returns to its nest; and this they interpret as a posture or act of adoration; it next strikes its upper and lower bill together several times, like a pair of castanets; and that noise is deemed equivalent to a vocal prayer, or ejaculation at least. Lastly, it bends its head down to the ground two or three times, and that they judge a devout prostration.

to transmit to Constantinople at a vast expence, the carriage from Cairo thither being very chargeable, and wholly to be defrayed by him. Besides that annual tribute, which was called hafnah, and must be paid in ready specie, he is obliged to furnish the seraglio with a certain quantity of provisions; such as sugar, coffee, sherbet, rice, corn, and other commodities, which are computed to amount to very near the same sum. He is, moreover, obliged by his post to defray the whole charge of the grand pavilion, which the sultan sends yearly to Mecca, and to send thither with it one hundred thousand crowns, for the entertainment of that city and mosque, and the like sum to Damascus, to defray the charges of the caravan, which sets out from thence for Arabia. Over and above all these vast sums, and other commodities, which he is bound to convey out of Egypt at his own expence, he likewise pays all the forces of that kingdom out of the yearly and other accidental revenues. By virtue of his commission he enters into his government in the month of September, which is the first of the old Coptic year; and if continued longer than one year, which is often the case, hath a fresh one transmitted to him from the Porte about the same time; but it is a favour which cannot be obtained without a considerable expence.

*Great revenue;
especially
in the time
of pesti-
lence.*

In order to give our readers an idea how a basha is enabled to support such vast annual disbursements, we should lay before them some kind of estimate of his yearly income: we are told by Maillet, who resided a considerable time at Cairo, as consul of the French nation, that it might easily be made to amount to double the value of what he pays to the Grand Signor, exclusive of the maintenance of his forces, were it managed with suitable œconomy. Granger tells us, that the whole land revenue of that kingdom amounts to ten thousand purses, of which the basha pays only one thousand two hundred to the Grand Signor, and that the rest goes to the payment of the army, the maintenance of the temple at Mecca, and other purposes already mentioned.

But, adds the former of these authors, the most considerable branch of it arises from the pestilence, which so frequently rages in that country, insomuch that, during the three or four months it commonly lasts, it brings him such a vast income, that one single day may be worth two or three hundred thousand crowns, by the deaths of those who are possessed of large villages; for these lands, which, by the laws of the Othman empire, revert to the Grand Signor,

Signor, do of course fall to the share of the basha, who is intitled to them by virtue of his commission, and frequently amount to immense sums, especially as, by the rapid deaths with which the purchasers are often snatched away, one after another, he is enabled to sell the same estate to three or four different persons in one week, no land purchase being for a longer term than the life of the purchaser.

Besides the income arising from the cultivated lands, he hath likewise another considerable advantage accruing from farming the customs, and several other crown-revenues, amounting commonly to one thousand four hundred and forty purses, of which he pays no more to the Porte than eight hundred, and sinks the remainder into his own coffers. To all these we must add a variety of other privileges and perquisites belonging to those governors, which are too obvious to want mentioning, and which are equally grievous to the common people, and no less contribute to the misery that rages among them; at the same enabling the Egyptian basha and his court to maintain that lustre and grandeur which it enjoyed under its former monarchs.

The basha of Egypt is obliged to have twenty-four beighs under him, and seven bodies of militia, without whose consent he cannot undertake any thing; but it seldom, if ever, happens that the number of the former is complete; their pay, which amounts to five hundred aspers per diem, and one thousand whenever they take the field, being a great temptation to him, who alone hath the nomination of them, to sink as much of it as he dares; so that this dignity is seldom purchased at a less price than between twenty and thirty purses, each purse amounting to about five hundred crowns.

His assistant beighs and militia.

The militia is seldom found to be above half its complement; but in this last, the officers sink the rest into their own pockets, though not without making some suitable acknowledgment to the basha for winking at the deficiency. We hinted above, that these were divided into seven distinct bodies or classes, called by them ports; two of which are infantry, namely, the janizaries and agas; the other five are cavalry, and distinguished by their different names of jumeli, tuffekhi, charaklas, matafarrakas, and chiaus. The compliment of the janizaries should consist of twenty thousand; that of the agars, and the other five, of twenty thousand more; in all, forty thousand; but it is a question whether they amount to half that number.

Seven corps of militia.

g Granger, Maillet, Norden, & al. ubi supra.

Their office.

fantry is chiefly kept to guard the city and castle at Kayr, or Kairo; the matafarrakas are sent to garrison other maritime cities, as Alexandria, Rosetta, Damietta, and some other inferior ports. The rest of them are chiefly used as guards and attendants on the beighs, or governors of provinces; and the chiaus to be sent out upon any extraordinary parties, or occasional excursions.

The dewan or grand council.

The dewan is held twice, some say thrice a week, in the bashaw's palace at Kairo. Those beighs and officers of the militia are his constant attendants, unless sent on some public expedition or service of the state, and from his dewan, or grand council. These are they who may be truly said to engross the whole power and authority, he not being allowed to undertake any thing without their consent: yet, as he hath the sole right to nominate them, and winks at those abuses by which they enrich themselves in their respective posts, his influence over them is usually sufficient to attach them to his interest. If there be any individual among the agas, of the militia especially, who betrays an ambitious view of gaining a superiority over the rest, he is sure to be set up as a mark for their jealousy; and though he may sometimes succeed, yet his reign seldom lasts longer than till his co-rivals have found means to form a stronger party against him, which will quickly bring him to a tragical end. A politic basha never fails of having a watchful eye over these intestine feuds, and improving them to his own advantage; not only as they add as much weight to his authority as they detract from that of the dewan, but much more so by the spoils of those who become the victims of such commotions; for, being thereby declared traitors to the government, they usually forfeit their lives and estates to him. Thus, though his power be ever so limited and cramped by the constitution of that state, a wise governor never wants means to support and strengthen himself against the opposition and cabals of his dewan.

Their mutual jealousies and cabals.

The hall where they sit.

This grand council sits in a spacious and magnificent hall, with a noble square or court before it, where the members parade with all their retinue, and make such a splendid appearance in the vast number of their servants and horses, richly dressed and caparisoned, and glittering with gold, silver, and precious stones, that it is affirmed, by those who have seen both, to exceed even that of the Grand Signor in his metropolis; and it is upon that account we are told, that sultan Selim, who subdued that kingdom, having held his dewan at the city of Kairo, and

in the stately hall of the royal palace of the Egyptian monarchs, forbid the then basha and all his successors to meet any more in that magnificent apartment, lest the sight of so much grandeur and opulence, joined to the splendid appearance of their dewan, should inspire them with a desire of shaking off their loyalty to the Porte, and of making themselves absolute masters of Egypt; so that the hall where the dewan now meets is quite different from that of the ancient Egyptian kings; and, excepting its extraordinary largeness and spacious court lately mentioned, is almost destitute of every other ornament, there being nothing in it worth observing but only seven deal planks, each about half an inch thick, and closely fastened together by an arrow which that sultan shot quite through them. These are kept suspended over the place where the basha sits, as a monument of that prince's extraordinary strength.^b *A monument of Selim's prodigious strength.*

Besides the vast revenues and privileges already mentioned, appertaining to the basha, his beighs and military officers, they have found out many other ways of enriching themselves by various other oppressions of the people, especially of the richer sort, whom, by some artifice or other, they either enlist, or pretend to have enlisted in some body of the militia; by which means they fleece them while alive, and seize on the better part of their effects after their death: the basha conniving at all those abuses, either as a sharer in the spoil, or out of fear of disobliging such a powerful body.

They carry these arbitrary proceedings as far as Upper Egypt, and among the Arabian cheyks, or *chiefs*, from whom they extort the most exorbitant contributions, under the specious name of tribute for living under their protection; by which pretended title they likewise claim the largest share of their estates when they die, and divide the rest among the children or relations of the deceased, according to their own discretion. This last kind of oppression is a privilege properly belonging to the corps of the janissaries; which their rapacious officers have found means to usurp within these fifty or sixty years, in spite of the wise regulations of sultân Selim, that excluded every kind of military corps from possessing any lands; so that they have by this time got the far greater part of them into their hands by main force, and are in a likely way of becoming masters of all the rest. Moreover, we are told, *The bashas extortion on the Arab cheyks.* *Janissaries, their usurpation and policy.*

^b Maillet, ubi supra.

these janissaries are so bent upon this point, that they keep an exact roll of the various states, trades, and occupations in the kingdom; of all the rich and poor; of the different ways by which they have hitherto extorted many sums from them, and are ever concerting new ones to complete their purpose. What affords matter of surprise, is, that the Othmân Porte, though fully apprised of it, doth not take any care to suppress an abuse, which may some time or other end in the total loss of that rich province¹.

*Extortions
on the Eu-
ropeans and
others.*

*Often
bought off
by a bribe.*

These extortions fall equally on the Europeans and other trading nations that are settled amongst them. The janissaries are never at a loss for a pretence to quarrel with them, sometimes about their dress, at others about their behaviour, as not paying a due respect, or for admitting some of the Mohammedan women into their quarters by night, and such other pretexts, whether real or false, in order to extort money from them; there being no other way of avoiding their resentment than by a quick submission, and some answerable atonement, according to one of their favourite adages, "the egg of to-day is preferable to the chicken of to-morrow." But, of all nations, that of the Jews is the most hated, despised, and oppressed by this tyrannic government, though so numerous and so highly encouraged in all the other Turkish dominions; and we may add in this kingdom too, where they were once very numerous, rich, and employed in some of the most important posts of the state; but now, by these new set of oppressors, dwindled to a very inconsiderable number, and reduced to the lowest poverty.

*The people
often ra-
waged by
the Arabs.*

Those who live in the upper provinces of the kingdom may be said to be still more miserable; for they are not only oppressed by their voracious governors, but frequently exposed to the inroads and dreadful ravages of the Arabian cheyks; who, by way of reprisal for the hardships they suffer from these petty tyrants, watch all opportunities to pour down upon the poor villagers with their numerous adouars, and carry all before them that come in their way. It is true the beighs, who have the government of these provinces, are obliged to entertain a certain number of forces to suppress those freebooters; but, the number of the beighs, and their forces, is never complete; nor are the latter kept in such a condition, and under sufficient discipline, to repel them especially as their in-

¹ Maillet, & al. ub. supra.

curfions are ever fudden, fierce, and desperate; whilst, perhaps, thofe beighs, whose bufinefs and duty it is to curb and oppofe the invaders, are parading it at Kairo, in fuch fplendid equipages as would by far eclipse thofe of many of our European princes. If any fuch difafters happen to any of thofe beighs as the ravaging a province or canton, through his neglect of keeping a fufficient force againft the Arabs, the bafha hath power to punifh him with the lofs of his place, with fine or confiscation of his goods, and even with death. The fame punifhment he may inflict in cafe of any male-adminiftration, other default, or even on any pretended delinquency, with no other view than to feize on their wealth. They are, properly fpeaking, little better than farmers of the lands which are in their refpective provinces, and for which they are to pay a proportionable fum to the government; but they have found out an effectual way to fcreen themfelves from fuch punifhments, by putting themfelves under the protection either of the janiffaries, azaphs, or fpahis, or even, to be ftill more fecure, of all thefe three bodies. A bafha who hath no authority over them, but rather every thing to fear from their refentment, fees himfelf obliged to give up his views, and to drop the profecution, be the accused ever fo guilty; unlefs he can, by the fame method of bribery, or by fomenting fome diffenfion amongst them, fecure a majority on his fide; which laft is the fureft engine he hath to play againft their cabals, in all emergencies of that nature.

Splendid equipage of the beighs.

How they avoid the bafha's anger.

Another fpecies of grandeur, which not only thefe beighs and militia officers, but all the opulent and wealthy, generally affect, is to have a vaft number of flaves of both fexes, and in this refpect they are to the full as lavish as in their other retinue; infomuch that there are fome of them, whose number and value amount to twenty or thirty thoufand crowns; a circumftance the more to be wondered at, becaufe the plague feldom fails of carrying off one third or more of them, and by that mortality raifes the price of them to fuch a height, that their lofs cannot be repaired but at a prodigious expence. And as that diftemper commonly makes a much greater havock amongst them in proportion, than among their mafters, it often happens that one mafter lives long enough to fee three or four hundred flaves drop into their graves before he dies. Another circumftance that enhances the price of them is, the great number which every bafha is obliged to fend yearly into Turkey, both to the Porte and to all his friends at court.

Vaft numbers of flaves carried off by the plague.

Whence
brought.

If it be asked how they are supplied with such vast numbers of them? We answer, that the inland parts of Africa are an inexhaustible source, and have actually, for these two or three centuries last past, furnished not only Egypt, but Asia and America, with myriads of them yearly. As they come from very different parts, so are they of different complexions, tempers, and qualities; some are black, others tawny, or brown olive, and others almost white. These last would in all likelihood be more esteemed for their rarity, were it not for the disadvantage they have above the rest of losing their whiteness through the heat of the climate: but this is not the case of the females, who are less exposed to the weather, and therefore most esteemed by the Egyptians and Turks.

Stately
burying-
places.

The last instance of grandeur, which the Egyptians of rank and wealth affect, is to have a sarcophagus, or *burying-place*, peculiar to their family, surrounded with a stately wall, and adorned, if not with imagery, yet with grand monuments, pavilions, pompous inscriptions, and other decorations; which yield a noble vista at a distance. They are, moreover, divided into partitions; one of which is for the males, another for the females, belonging to the family, and the rest for the domestics. But in no case doth the structure of these sepulchral, or any other of their finest, edifices, come up to the ancient architecture for which this country was once so famed. Their taste for that and other arts seems now as much absorbed, as if those noble and ancient monuments were buried under ground. And yet there are a sufficient number left every where, still visible and entire, to have preserved their taste for that noble art, had not the extreme misery to which the people are reduced by the tyrannical government of so many new masters, as the Saracens, Mamluks, and now, more than ever, the Turks, so totally destroyed it, that those who have been eye-witnesses could hardly conceive how it was possible for such a nation so totally to degenerate into the opposite extreme of rudeness and ignorance. If any faint remains of ancient ingenuity are still found amongst them, it is chiefly in the construction of their stair-cases, especially of the winding kind; which are pretty numerous, and requisite in the women's apartments, and which they carry on with great skill and nicety. This, we are told, is chiefly owing to an excellent sort of cement, or mortar, mixed with quick lime; which hardens into a substance more durable than the stone it is employed to bind.

Decay of
architec-
ture.

A singular
way of
rearing
stair-cases.

Their

Their painting, whether in oil or water colours, is still more rude than their architecture; and may be more properly called a dawbing, without taste, colouring, or design. Their gilding comes likewise infinitely short of that life and brilliancy, which, in their old monuments, appear still as if but newly laid on. They have, moreover, lost the art of burnishing the gold; for want of which every thing they do now of that kind is rude and lifeless. The only curious branch of this kind they have preserved, is that of dissolving their gold into the consistence of ink, and writing not only letters and books with it, but intermixing it with their paintings; a method which appears very beautiful, and preserves its lustre: but this is no secret peculiar to them; for we see it among the Persians and Indians in the same perfection^k.

*Wretched
painting
and gilding.*

*Writing
with liquid
gold.*

The only manufacture amongst them worth mentioning is the weaving, and is chiefly reducible to three branches; viz. the silken, linen, and woollen. With regard to the first, their raw silk is brought from Syria to Damiata, and is woven into large handkerchiefs or veils for the women; and a very rich sort of them is worked with gold, and flowered with several colours, to throw over such presents as they send from one to the other; some are made into cushions, sofas, and most of them very costly. Besides these, they have a considerable manufacture of several sorts of sattins and taffatees, in imitation of those which are brought from India, but vastly short of them in beauty and goodness^l. They weave likewise some other sorts of silks, and even velvets, but all greatly inferior to those of India and Europe, as well as to those which their own country once produced. The same remark may be made of their cotton and linen, though they have both in great plenty and goodness; particularly their flax, which grows in the Delta. They have not the use of the wheel, but spin all with a distaff and spindle. The chief manufacture is at Rosetto, where they weave variety of linen, mostly striped, and used about their beds as a fence against the gnats. But the very best linen in the whole country is that which is made at Mahalla in the Delta, and at Damiata; it is mostly plain, and well woven, though not fine, and is used for the table; but there is a dearer sort, striped, with a silk border, for those of higher rank.

*Weaving
manufac-
ture.*

*Cotton and
woollen.*

Their woollen manufacture consists only of an unnapped sort of carpets, used mostly for the seats of the dowans,

* Maillet, ubi supra, p. 13. ^l Pococke, ubi supra, p. 174.

or for sophas, woven with broad stripes of different colours, with little variety of any other kind.

*Dexterity in
mounting of
guns.*

The only handicraft in which they excel, is the mounting of their hand-guns, and preparing and shaping the wood; a work in which great numbers are continually employed. If these so necessary and useful branches of knowledge, have undergone such a lamentable charge, what devastation may we judge the same cause must have produced amongst the more liberal arts, and the whole circle of those sciences for which this kingdom was once so justly celebrated.

*Their famed
library de-
stroyed by
Salah'ddin.*

The learning of Egypt received its death's wound from Salah'ddin, the first introducer of the Mamluks into that kingdom, who destroyed that noble library collected by the Fatemite khalifs; which Makrifi tells us, consisted of above a hundred thousand volumes, collected from several other parts of Africa, Syria, Arabia, Greece, Spain, Sicily, Sardinia, and other countries of Europe and Asia, and from some of the most celebrated universities and monasteries of these countries, the greatest part of them transcribed in letters of gold. This collection was looked upon as an inestimable treasure, till that ignorant and superstitious prince, before mentioned, became the possessor of it, and by the havock he made of those noble monuments introduced that ignorance and barbarism, which have reigned in it ever since, both under the Mamluk usurpation, and since its conquest by the Turks. It is true that a vast number of them were preserved from the flames, by the ignorance and avarice of the minister who was the chief judge and executioner of the sultan's orders. Instead of saving only those which treated of Mohammedism, and of the conquests of the Mohammedan princes, he luckily preserved those only which were the best written and most richly adorned, on the supposition that these would fetch the most money; by which means they not only escaped the fire, but were bought at a vast expence by the grandees of the court, to adorn their libraries, or those of their principal mosques. But even these, in time, became neglected, through the sordid ignorance or want of taste in those who had the care of them; for they considered them either as unintelligible, or uninteresting. Since the reduction of Egypt by sultan Selim, the bashas and other officers of the Porte have been ordered to search out for the most valuable and curious books of every kind, and convey them to Constantinople. How, therefore, should there be any learning, or learned men, in a country that hath been stripped of all its valuable books of every kind,
and

*Many va-
luable vo-
lumes pre-
served; but
in time, be-
came ne-
glected.*

and under a government which hath, for above these two centuries, taken the most effectual means to discourage both the one and the other; so that we may date the decay of both from the fatal period in which this kingdom passed from the dominion of the noble Fatemite khalifs to the tyrannical usurpation of the rude and barbarous Mamluks: that of the Turks since having rather added to, than remedied the evil^m.

Selim having reduced this kingdom, and totally suppressed the power of the Mamluks, was naturally induced to settle the government and the militia upon the same footing as in Turkey. He accordingly fixed it upon a certain number of men, who were to be raised mostly out of that country, and only intermixed with some others drawn from different provinces of his empire, together with some of his Turks who had lived some time in Egypt, and were best acquainted with it; these he reduced into seven bodies or ports, and allotted to each their respective offices and posts, as hath been already mentioned. He did not think it necessary, or perhaps convenient, to maintain a naval force in Egypt, yet he and his successors have nevertheless been able to keep that country in subjection by the sole help of their militia, dispersed through the several parts of it, and in their respective castles or garrisons.

Form of government, how settled by Selim.

Egypt maintained no naval force.

The most considerable of these are at Kayro, Rosetto, Alexandria, Damiata, the Labyrinth, Adjeroute, and there are two or three more of less consequence; the greatest part of them ill kept. All these have their respective garrisons, consisting of janissaries, or assafs, commanded by a beigh, or other military officer, whose post gives him the title of aga. They have their subalterns under them, called schorbassis, with whom they form the dowan. Their power, however, extends no farther than the fortrefs they command, though they seldom fail of stretching it beyond these limits, whenever they have an opportunity of enriching themselves by intermeddling in any affairs in their neighbourhood; where they set up for judges, without appeal, and commonly decide in favour of the highest bidder: though if the other party hath friends powerful enough, which is sometimes the case, he may bring his cause before a higher tribunal, and be able not only to obtain a reversion, but be the means of punishing the unrighteous judgeⁿ.

Its castles and garrisons, how governed.

^m Maillet, & al. sup. citat. cit.

ⁿ Vide Pococke, Norden, & al. sup.

*City and
castle of
Kayro.*

*Garrisoned
by janizaries.*

The castle of Kayro, which is now the residence of the basha and dowan, was once a spacious strong structure, but since gone to decay. It stands on a rocky hill, which seems to have been separated by art from the hill, or Mount Gebel Dwise, and is surrounded by a stout high wall; but is commanded by a higher hill on the north-east, and can, therefore, be a place of no strength since the invention of cannon. On the west side are still the remains of very grand apartments, some covered with domes, and adorned with Mosaic pictures of trees and houses, that doubtless belonged to the ancient sultâns; but this part of the castle is now only used for weaving, embroidering, and preparing the hangings or coverings that are sent yearly to Mecca. What strength and quantity of artillery this castle contains is not known, admittance into it being denied to all Europeans. The janizaries are the chief guards of it and of the town. Old Kayro is also guarded by another corps of them, under a beigh, who resides there, and, we are told, is changed every month, while the assaphs guard the country round about°. Another officer, styled valla, answering to the Turkish soubasha, patrols through the city night and day, but especially in the night. His business is to take up all loose and idle persons, all breakers of the peace, thieves, drunken, and disorderly people. In some flagrant cases, he cuts off their heads upon the spot, or causes them to be bastonaded and imprisoned, according to the nature of the offence or offender; for if he be one of those who put themselves under the protection of the janizaries, or other military bodies, he comes off much easier, is punished in private, and not on the spot. This officer who is, or should be, the terror of rogues, is frequently prevailed on, by some proper present, to become their protector. He is, moreover, the person to whom great men apply to have any offender given up, and they are sure of having them delivered accordingly. There is another officer, called metelib, who hath the care of all weights and measures, and to see that all things be done according to the standard. We may, however, wonder upon the whole, considering the general corruption which rages in this vast populous city, from the basha, or governor, down to the lowest of his officers, the power and insolence of the janizaries and other military bodies, the prodigious number of inhabitants both natives and fo-

° Pococke, ubi supra, lib. iv, cap. 2. & fin.

reigners (E), that the people in general live so quietly and peaceably. But it must be remembered, that the natives are kept under by fear, and the others by policy; the former knowing, and for the most part feelingly, the severity of the government they live under, become, by degrees, so accustomed to the yoke, that they naturally chuse to submit to it rather than incur a worse fate; the latter, by being timely admonished of the most effectual means to avoid giving any umbrage, or pretence to those in power, or any occasion to a Turk to quarrel with him, may chance to live quiet, and unmolested amongst them. But if through passion, inadvertency, or even in spite of all his caution and resolution to avoid either, he had incurred their censure, there is still an expedient at hand to bring him off; namely, submission, and a present equivalent to the affront or injury, whether pretended or real.

This vast and opulent metropolis is commonly known to the Europeans by the name of Cairo, Kayro, and Grand Cairo; and to the natives by that of Kæhirah, or Al Kaherah, from the name of the planet Mars, styled by the Arabs, Caher or Kaher, the *Victorious*, under whose influence the great conqueror of Egypt, Giaffar, or Jawhar, general of Moez Ledin'illah, the first khalif of the Fatemite race in Egypt, laid the foundation of this city. We are told, he took the advice of the ablest astrologers and horoscope-mongers, as was usual among the Arabs; and from the assent of that warlike planet, called his new city Al Kahera, or *Victorious*, which the Venetians and Genoese, the earliest European traders into this kingdom, afterwards corrupted into that of Cairo, and, on account of its largeness and opulence, Grand Cairo.

Cairo, or Grand Kayro, described.

Whence so called.

Its most ancient name was Mezr, from whence the whole country is supposed to take the name of Mizraim. The place that warrior chose to build it on was near the ancient town, which hath also had a vast variety of other names, as Moph, Memphis, Al Mosser, &c. and at that time was called Fosthadh, which signifies a tent or pavilion,

Its ancient and present names.

9 Pococke, lib. i. cap. 4. Norden, Maillet, Granger, & al.

(E) The number of inhabitants of Kairo is said to amount to about two millions, computed from the number of people that die in the time of the plague; which is positively affirmed to have amounted to seven thousand in one day.

a denomi-

a denomination given to it by Amru Ebn Aaz, the lieutenant-general of Omar, second khalif of Baghdad, on account of some pigeons which had hatched on the top of his tent as he was laying siege to it.

*Raised on
the decay
of the old.*

Jawhar, or Giaffar, was no sooner become master of Fosthaddh, than he set about rearing the spacious walls of his new Kahirah; in which he made such extraordinary dispatch, that both they and the city were finished in little more than four years. They were begun in the year of the Hejra 358, of Christ 968, and completed in 362 of the same Hejra, in which the khalif Moez made his public entrance into it. From this time it began to thrive, grow populous and opulent, though not without the visible decrease of the old city, in spite of its more convenient and advantageous situation on the eastern bank of the Nile; whereas the other is seated, at about a mile distant from it, on a burning sandy plain, about a league northward of the old town, stretching itself along the foot of the mountain whereon the castle stands; which reflects the rays of the sun with such force upon it, that it is, in the hot season of the year, almost intolerable; but the heat is greatly allayed in the old by the refreshment which that river brings along with it. Such was the fondness of those khalifs for this new city, and so attractive the splendor of their court, that they suffered it to rise daily on the ruin of the other, during the whole time of that dynasty. The only chance it had since for retrieving its ancient splendor, was under the brave soltan Salah'addin, commonly called Saladin, the prince who deprived the Fatemites of the khaliphate, who attempted to join these two cities into one, by surrounding them with a common wall, said to have been twenty-six thousand cubits in circumference; but not living to see his design take effect, his successors wholly neglected it. The walls are indeed still standing; but the ancient city, with its fine buildings, erected by the Saracens, went gradually to decay.

*Old Kairo
joined to
the new by
a wall.*

*Its build-
ings de-
scribed.*

The greatest part of its buildings now, if we except what they call Joseph's Granaries (F), and the noble water-

Maillet, Norden, & al.

(F) This structure, though it occupies a large square piece of ground, surrounded by a wall, and artfully divided into a variety of partitions, wherein the corn paid yearly to the Porte is kept, hath nothing

that shews that pretended antiquity they ascribe to it; much less any thing that can be compared to the grandeur of the other Egyptian antiquities.

house,

house, once a stately work of the khalifs, to serve their new palace and city with water; these, we say, excepted, and the habitations of workmen and artificers, its buildings chiefly consist in houses of pleasure belonging to the great officers and rich men belonging to New Cairo, to which they resort for diversion, at the season when the waters of the Nile begin to rise; the rest of the ground being mostly taken up with gardens, vineyards, and orchards, producing stately palms, and variety of other fruit-trees. Neither have these houses any thing grand or regular, either within or without; but are mere saloons, some larger than others, and fit only for such recreations. To these we may add about half a dozen mosques, with minarets or towers, the famed synagogue of the Jews (G), the hospital belonging to the Roman catholics of the Holy Land, and about ten or twelve other churches and chapels belonging to them and the Copts. Among these is that of St. Macarius, where the Coptic patriarch is elected and consecrated; and another, in which is the pretended grotto where the Virgin Mary and her small family dwelt during their retreat in Egypt. It is held in great veneration among the Christians of those parts; insomuch that the Roman catholics pay a certain yearly sum to the Copts, who are in possession of it, for the liberty of saying mass in it^s.

There stands on the same eastern bank of the Nile, *The port of Boolac once a suburb of Kairo.* about a mile and a half north of Old Kairo, the town of

* Norden, ubi supra, Pococke, Granger, Maillet, & al. mult.

(G) Famed more for its boasted antiquity, and some valuable relics in its possession, than for the fineness of its structures, which is said to be sixteen hundred years old, and not unlike the Christian churches of those parts. The old reading-desk, they tell you, stands just over the spot in which the prophet Jeremiah was buried; whereupon they have long since forbore entering into it out of respect, and read their law in another. Dr. Pococke saw there, like-
 wife, two ancient manuscripts of the Pentateuch, and they pretended to have another of the whole Old Testament, written by Ezra; who, they told him, omitted, out of reverence, writing the name of God; but found it written throughout on the text the day after he had finished it. This Jewish relick is kept, with great veneration, in a niche about ten feet high, and hath a rich curtain drawn, and a lamp always burning before it (1).

(1) Pococke's Observations on Egypt. book. i. chap. 4.

Boolac,

Boolac, formerly a suburb of it, which hath maintained itself by its vicinity to the new city, of which it is the staple and harbour. The number of ruins and old mosques which are seen in the neighbourhood of the old town, gives one room to conjecture, that Boolac was not the only suburb belonging to it. It hath on the north side of it the khalish, or canal, which conveys the water from the Nile to New Kairo, after its overflow; but this, like the granaries, and other useful works, is suffered to fall into decay, through the avarice of the beigh who hath the care of it, and gets about five hundred purses yearly to the great detriment of the whole province, whose fertility is greatly diminished thereby. Boolac hath a considerable custom-house, as being a port to which the boats and barges from all parts of the Delta repair; and is likewise remarkable for a fine bagnio.

Custom-house.

New Kairo described.

New Kairo is computed at about seven miles in circumference, exclusive of the old, and the town of Boolac. We have already mentioned its disadvantageous situation along the foot of a mountain, a mile distant from the Nile; to which we may add its sensible decay, both in extent and opulence, since it hath ceased to be the center of commerce from the East Indies, though it hath still continued to be the chief mart of the kingdom. However, the accounts of its former extent, populousness, and opulence, seem to have been greatly exaggerated.

Its situation hot.

Its situation is allowed to be under the 23d deg. and 58th min. of north latitude, and cannot be reckoned a moderate or delightful clime; especially as the heat is increased by the burning sandy soil about it, and the mountainous ridge which reflects it in a kind of focus. This consideration in a great measure, explodes what some encomiastic writers have said concerning its healthfulness, if what we have already observed, with regard to the many and dangerous diseases which rage in it, and sweep away such myriads of its inhabitants, was not sufficient to confute that supposition. We may add the narrowness and crookedness of its streets, that, amongst us, would hardly bear the name of lanes; and the slovenly manner in which they are kept, being neither paved, nor cleaned from dust and dirt, and only watered twice or thrice a day, before the houses of the better sort of people, not so much for cleanliness as coolness. The houses, likewise, are neither airy nor pleasant, the best of them being commonly built round a kind of court, without ornament, or even windows fronting the streets; the lower part of stone, and

Narrow streets.

Houses mean.

and the upper of timber-work, fitted up with unburnt brick; and others with earth whitened over with lime. The inside is as plain as the out, nothing but use being regarded in their apartments and furniture, excepting their saloons, wherein they receive their friends and acquaintance, which are a little more ornamented. So that, upon the whole, they have hardly any fence against the torrid heat of an almost vertical sun, except that of the north winds, which commonly blow during the hot months of June, July, and August, and sometimes with such piercing coldness, as to oblige the better sort to exchange their lightest garments for others lined with fur. Whenever these winds fail them at that season, they are forced to endure a more scorching heat than the inhabitants of the torrid zone; and, when the winds chance to blow by intervals, the transition from extremity of heat to that of cold, and vice versa, is not only disagreeable and painful to a great degree, but frequently occasions as dangerous diseases as the poisonous steams arising from their canal, when drained of its water^t.

North winds very cold.

Kairo hath a very great number of mosques; some reckon them to amount to seven hundred and twenty, with minarets or towers, each having its preacher: besides about four hundred and twenty, which have neither towers nor preachers, but are a kind of chapels or oratories. Some of the former are grand and beautiful; one in particular, called the mosque of Hassein, is really magnificent, both with regard to the strength and solidity of its structure, and a certain grandeur which strikes the eye in a surprising manner. It is built in an oblong square form, very spacious and high, surrounded at the top with a fine cornice, which projects a great way, and is embellished with variety of grotesque figures, carved after the Turkish manner. The entrance into it is likewise very beautiful, being inlaid with several sorts of marble, and carved as on the top. The ascent to it is by a flight of steps; but these are much broken, and the door is walled up, because, in time of public insurrection, the mutineers often made it a place of retreat. The place is so strong, that there is now a constant guard of Janissaries kept within its precinct, in some adjacent apartment. Between it and the castle is a spacious piazza, the only square in the whole city.

Number of mosques.

That of Hassein described.

^t Mailler, Pococke, Granger, Norden, & al.

*That called
Kubeel
Azabs, a
noble edi-
fice.*

To the north of the city is another stately mosque, called Kubeel-Azabs, or the cupola of the Arabs ; because it properly belongs to the military order. It is sixty feet square, adorned with a stately dome, raised on a base of sixteen sides, and in each of these is a window. The inside of the mosque is wainscotted round, about eighteen feet high, in pannels ; the rest is of a most beautiful marble, among which are several slabs of red and green porphyry ; the borders round the pannels are carved and gilt, and a sort of frize ranges round, in which are sentences cut in large golden Coptic characters. The walls above it were likewise adorned with Arabic inscriptions, in letters of gold ; and the cupola above is painted and gilt in the most elegant manner. The mosque is hung with a great number of lamps, and ostrich eggs ; adjoining to it are several apartments for the priests, and some still finer for great persons, who come to reside there. This great edifice is said to have been built by Jewhar, or Jaafar, who begged leave of the sultan to prepare him a place fit to offer him sherbet on his return from Mecca.

*The grand
aqueduct
described.*

We have already taken notice of the castle of Kairo, its wretched fortifications and garrison ; we shall now mention two curious pieces of antiquity still remaining, and which were kept in good repair during the reigns of the khalifs and Mamluk sultans ; though since much neglected. The first is the noble aqueduct, which brings the Nile water to it. We find it mentioned by Ctesias, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and other ancient writers, as a grand piece of work. It consists of a prodigious number of arches and piers, of different dimensions, in the rustic style. The arches are mostly from ten to fifteen feet wide, and the piers from eight to ten. Dr. Pococke counted them to the number of two hundred and eighty-nine ; but others, to a much greater number.

The structure likewise at the end of it, which draws the water from the Nile into the reservoir, is a beautiful strong edifice, of an octagon figure, in the same rustic style ; both the work of the Mamluks.

*Joseph's
Wells de-
scribed.*

The other curious work, worth mentioning in this castle, is what the natives style Joseph's Wells ; not from the patriarch, but from a grand vizir of that name, as some pretend. The Arabs call it the Spail or Spiral Wells, on account of their spiral descent. They are of

an oblong square form ; their mouth is sixteen feet in breadth, twenty-four in length, and in depth two hundred and seventy-six, from the bottom to the upper wheel. This depth consists of two divisions, the first of which goes down no lower than one hundred and forty-six feet, at the end of which is a slope or resting-place ; upon which they draw the water from the lower division, by means of another wheel, turned by oxen, which hath a string or rope of earthen pitchers. *Their vast depth and spiral descent.*

The second division is neither so wide, long, or deep, as the first ; being only fifteen by nine wide, and one hundred and thirty deep. Both divisions are neatly cut in the rock, and with such art, that the rock serves as a rampart on the west side to the descent ; in which are cut, at certain distances, apertures to let in the light for the oxen and their drivers, which go down the spiral descent to the first platform. From this to the bottom of the other is much more dangerous, because narrower, and without a parapet. The water at the bottom is about nine or ten feet deep, but brackish, and unfit for drink, except during the time of the inundation ; and the same may be said of all the wells of the city ^w. *Water brackish.*

Rosetto is the next castle and garrison ; the Egyptians call it Rashid. It is pleasantly situated on the west side of that branch of the Nile called by the ancients Bolbitinum, affirmed by Herodotus to have been formed by art ; so that you have the town and castle at your right hand as you enter the mouth of that river. It is esteemed one of the pleasantest places in Egypt ; the length of it is about two miles, and consists only of two or three streets. The country about it is most delightful and fertile, as is all the whole Delta on the other side of the Nile, exhibiting the most pleasant prospect of gardens, orchards, and corn-fields, excellently well cultivated. *Castle of Rosetto.*

The castle stands about two miles north of the town, on the west side of the river. It is a square building, with round towers at the four corners, mounted with some pieces of brass cannon. The walls are of brick, cased with stone, supposed to have been built in the time of the holy war, though since repaired by Cheyk Begh. At a little distance lower, on the other side of the river, is a platform, mounted with some guns, and to the east of it are the salt lakes, out of which they gather great quanti- *Its situation and strength.*

^w Pococke's Observations on Egypt, book i. chap. 4. vide & Norden, Granger, & al. sup. cit.

*Traffick of
Rosetto
with Kairo.*

ties of that commodity. At some farther distance, sailing up the river, we see a high mountain, on which stands an old building that serves for a watch tower. From this eminence, is discovered a large and deep gulph, in form of a crescent, which appears to have been the work of art, though it be now filled up, and discovers nothing but its ancient bed. Rosetto is grown a considerable place for commerce, and hath some good manufactures in the linen and cotton way; but its chief business is the carriage of goods to Kairo, all the European merchandise being brought thither from Alexandria, by sea, and carried in other boats to that capital; as those that are brought down from it, on the Nile, are there shipped off for Alexandria; on which account, the Europeans have here their vice-consuls and factors to transact their business; and the government maintains a beigh, a custom-house, and a garrison, to keep all safe and quiet.

*Port and
castle of
Damiata.*

The third garrison, as well as second sea-port of Egypt, is that of Alexandria, once the metropolis, and the largest and most opulent city in the whole kingdom, but now reduced within the compass of a small neck of land, and stripped of all its ancient splendor. For some particular reasons, we shall postpone the farther description of it, for an article by itself, after we have given an account of the other three; and so pass on to the fourth in rank, called Damiata, situate on the opposite extremity of the Delta to that of Rosetto, and on the eastern, called Boubastic or Pelusiac, branch of the Nile. This city answers to the ancient Portusium, though it now stands at a greater distance from the bar than it was observed to do at the time of the holy war. It is a place of great traffick, as well as Rosetto, and there hardly passes a year, in which there are not above a hundred vessels laden in it with different merchandise, especially rice. The misfortune is, that it is no less infested with corsairs, who make prize of them either sailing in or out*. The town is large, but ill built, and chiefly inhabited by fishermen and janissaries, who are said to be the very worst people in the whole Turkish empire, and the most uncivil and insulting to strangers, especially the Europeans, against whom they bear a mortal aversion; which hath continued ever since the time of the crusades, this city being the scene of their war in Egypt, and the place where the French monarch St. Lewis was made a prisoner. No person, therefore,

*Its great
traffick.*

*The inhabitants hate
and insult
the Europeans.*

* Maillet ubi supra.

dares to appear here in an European dress. They mention instances of some Christian consuls having been massacred, and of others, who have been forced to leave the place to avoid the like fate. They are, moreover, ar- rant thieves, and will steal the cables and other cordage or tackle of ships, and make use of persons of credit to treat with the captain about a price for the restitution of them; and this in spite of their laws, which strictly forbid the taking away part of a ship's tackle, under the severest penalties.

Damiata is defended by a stout castle, which, we are told, cannot be less than eight hundred years old¹. The fishery of this place is carried on with great success, on the lake called by some Menslet, by others Tanis, and Be- heir, and is farmed, we are told, for forty thousand pi- asters². This lake, which is reckoned the largest in all Egypt, extends above twenty leagues in length, and about eight in breadth, where broadest. It begins in the neigh- bourhood of Damiata, stretches east and west to the an- cient Pelusium, and is parted from the sea only by a fan- dy bank of about half a league in breadth. During the season of the Nile's overflow, it discharges itself into the Mediterranean by three large branches, which form three mouths called Mendez, Tanis, and Pelusium; but they remain dry after the overflow. This lake abounds with variety of fish, which are cured and salted upon a vast number of small islands near the shore, and are greedily bought up by the Syrians and Nubian Arabs. They cure likewise great quantities of what they call bootargos, which are the roes of mullet, caught here in great plenty; and, when dipped in wax, are carried and sold all over Turkey. They have two ways of fishing in this lake, which are no less curious than peculiar; the one is by the help of a tame pelican that they bring to it, who, by his exquisite scent, finds out where the fish are, and drives them into their nets, which are spread in a semicircular form, at a proper distance. To prevent his eating the fish in too large a quantity, as he drives them before him, the fishermen guide him on each side, by a thread they have run through his eye-lids, whereby they make him swim with his eyes shut; whilst they on each side, rowing in their boats, prevent the fish from straying from the net.

The castle. Large fish- ery on the lake Mens- let.

Two curi- ous ways of fishing in "

¹ Pococke, ubi supra.

² Grang. Voy. en Egypt.

Its importance and commerce.

The other is by means of the dolphins, which are in great plenty there, and drive the fish towards the shore into little ponds dug for the purpose, the entrance of which they close with a net after they are got in. Damietta is reckoned one of the keys of Egypt, on account of its important harbour on the Mediterranean, and to contain about twenty-five thousand inhabitants, exclusive of its suburb on the other side of the Nile; which is chiefly inhabited by sea-faring men. There are likewise about four hundred Greek families settled in this place; which, in some measure, carry on the whole commerce. They have a church, a bishop, and a free liberty of their religion, except that of ringing the bell. Besides these, there are multitudes of strangers of various nations and religions. It hath one long street, which reaches quite from the water-side to the other extremity of it, along the river; and there it is that goods of all kinds, are laden and unladen. It is surrounded with walls, except on the water-side, and is governed by an aga and a kadi, both nominated by the basha. Its chief commerce is that of fine linen cloth, of all colours; exported thence into various countries; besides the salted mullets, and their preserved roes, already mentioned ^a.

The castle of the labyrinth.

The next castle, in rank, is that which hath its name from the famed ancient labyrinth, or is rather only what remains of that once magnificent structure.

Described by Dr. Pococke.

This castle, by the Arabs, called Casr Caroon, and supposed to be the remains of the ancient labyrinth, stands west-south-west of the lake Mœris, about two, or, according to others, three miles from it, and may now be easily pervaded and examined without a clue. It is one hundred and sixty feet in length, and eighty in breadth. The porch, which was rustic work, is almost destroyed; and, from the remains of a flight of stairs on the east side, one may conclude that there were some apartments under it. The front of the building is more ruinous than any other part; and the upper story in the middle is fallen down. As the building now remains, there are forty-four tiers of stone, each nine inches deep, and consequently it is thirty-three feet high. There are signs of a cornice ranging round; notwithstanding which, the building must have been carried up higher. The three other fronts of the structure appear to have had some rows

^a Coppin's Voy. into Syria, chap. 13. Vanster, & al. sup. cit.

of fine brown marble and other stone taken off, which were adorned with cornices, and other sculpture and ornaments.

This edifice consists of four spacious halls, of different sizes, and a smaller one about twelve feet long, which form the whole extent of the building; and on each side of them are smaller apartments^b. The four large halls have door-cases crowned with double cornices, adorned with winged globes. The inside of these rooms, before they were filled with earth, are supposed to have been twenty feet high, and are covered with stones of such a length as to reach from wall to wall: the narrow apartments, on the sides and at the farther end, might be designed for tombs, or depositories for the dead. The passage from the cell to the west leads up to one of the large apartments, by a hole that seems to have been broke into it. These Dr. Pococke supposes to have been the places where the sacred crocodiles were kept; one of them being thirty feet by three, and the other eight by two. A way is broke in from the end of the long room to the apartments above. There are several other particulars relating to these apartments, which we shall not dwell upon, seeing our author found it so difficult to offer any probable conjecture concerning their use and design^c; and all that we can conclude from them, is, that the whole edifice rather bears the face of some ancient palace or other public structure; but hath nothing remaining that could lead a judicious observer into the notion of its being the ruins of the famed labyrinth, described by the ancients.

The apartments described.

The design and use of them above conjecture;

but in nothing less than the labyrinth.

Before we leave the castle of Caroon, we shall only observe, that it is governed likewise by an aga and a kadi, both named by the basha; the former appointed to receive the tribute of this government, part of which he is commissioned to send to Constantinople, and the other to Kairo, for the sustenance of the soldiery^d.

The next castle and garrison is that of Adjeroute, supposed to be the ancient Hierapolis. It is distant about twenty-nine hours from Kairo, on the road to Mecca (H); but

Other castles and garrisons.

^b Granger, ubi supra. & al. sup. citat.

^c Pococke, ibid. p. 63.

^d Norden,

(H) The Arabians compute it to be thirty-two hours, or four hundred and eighty de-
 rajes, of which fifteen go to an hour; the difference is owing to the road that the caravan takes

but hath nothing worth observing. The castle is an old square building, the garrison inconsiderable, ill kept, and worse disciplined *.

*The present
state of
Alexan-
dria.*

We come now to give our readers a short description of the once celebrated city of Alexandria, not so much on account of its former grandeur, which hath been fully described in our *Ancient History*; but because it is the place where European strangers land at, and must begin to familiarize themselves to the strange manners and customs of the country, the inconveniences they must expect to go through, and the contempt, affronts, and insults, they must sustain from a rude unpolished people.

*Why neces-
sary to be
known.*

*Stripped of
all its an-
cient mag-
nificence.*

First then, instead of those ancient and magnificent structures they may have heard or read of, they must expect to behold little else but their ruins, fragments of stately walls, tottering towers, and castles. Here they will see the most sumptuous temples turned into plain mosques, some of the finest pieces of architecture artlessly scattered, and employed to patch up an ordinary dwelling; the royal palace become a common prison for slaves, the once numerous and opulent inhabitants dwindled into an handful of strangers, and a multitude of miserable wretches, servants, and slaves, employed in lading, unlading, and carrying merchandise to-and-fro, and in other laborious branches of commerce; which is now the only thing it is considerable for, and is wholly owing to its convenient situation, and to its double port, one on each side; the old one destined for the vessels that belong to the subjects of the Grand Signor, and the new for those that come from Europe and other parts of the world, answering to their ancient distinction of ports of Asia and Africa. There is, however, a considerable difference between them; the former being large, commodious, deep, safe, and neatly kept; with only this inconveniency, that its entrance is difficult and dangerous, on account of its narrowness, and being clogged up with rocks; but, being once passed, we enter into a fine spacious haven, about a league in length, capacious enough for a thousand vessels to ride in commodiously and safely.

*The two
ports de-
scribed.*

* Pococke, ubi supra, lib. iii. cap. 1. Granger, cap. 13. Maillet.

takes farther about: that being is from Kairo, where the caravan much about the distance van encamps and begins its which the Lake of the Pilgrims journey (2).

(2) Pococke, ubi supra, lib. iii. cap. 1.

The

The other, on the contrary, called since the New Port, on account of its having been severed from the first, in the time of the Greek monarchs, by a dyke which reached from the terra firma to the eastern point of the isle of Antirrhodus, is very shallow in many places, and the bottom so rocky as to be dangerous to the ships which ride at anchor. The entrance into this last port is defended by two castles, of a bad structure, after the Turkish taste, which have nothing remarkable but their situation; all the rest coming vastly short of those noble structures, for which this city was once so justly famed. The Great Pharillon hath a small tower in its centre, terminating in a lanthorn, which is lighted up every night; but is so ill served that it seldom gives a sufficient light. The island was anciently joined to the land by a causeway, and two bridges, nine hundred paces long, which have long since been covered by the waters, as well as the famous mole which Adrian had caused to be built at the end of the cape Possidium: some of the ruins of both may be seen in clear and calm weather. It is much the same with the other castle, or Little Pharillon, as it is called, on which one sees no footsteps of that celebrated library, which, in Ptolemy's time, was esteemed the noblest and most beautiful that had ever been seen. These two Pharillons are joined to the land, each by a mole, of which that of the island of Pharoh is the longest, built partly of brick and partly of freestone, and is vaulted from end to end; about ten thousand paces in extent; the vaulting is after the Gothic style, and the water flows under the arches. The other mole hath nothing remarkable, but two zigzags, which serve for a defence in case of need; and both together, one on the right, and the other on the left side of the port, conduct insensibly to the shore. But as there are here and there many dangerous rocks, some above, others under water, the safest way is to take a Turkish pilot, appointed for that end, who guides you safe through them into the port.

That part of the city which borders on the old, offers to one's view a strange mixture of objects, of ancient and modern monuments, some entire, others decayed, broken, or one half above, and the rest buried under a heap of ruins. The outer walls of the city are still very beautifully built of hewn stone, though they appear to be ancient, all the arches being true and regular. They are

The new one inconvenient and dangerous.

Its two castles.

Called the Great and Little Pharillon.

Their two moles leading to the port.

The prospect of the city.

Walls and towers.

flanked with semicircular towers, twenty feet in diameter, at about a hundred and thirty feet distance from each other. At each of them are stairs to go up to the battlements, there being a walk round the top of the wall, built upon arches; and, as they now stand, they seem to have inclosed all the city, except the royal palace, on the north-east. The inner walls of the old city, which seem to be of the middle age, are much higher and stronger than the others, defended by high towers; two of which are particularly large and well built, and stand to the north-west, towards the new city, on the strand. These ancient relics have been so disfigured, by time and other accidents, or are so far buried in the sand and rubbish, that there remains little else in and about this city, worth the attention of the curious, except the famous Corinthian column, vulgarly called the Pillar of Pompey, and the two obelisks, called the Needles of Cleopatra, the one still standing, and the other thrown down; all which have been so fully described, by every writer and traveller into this country, that it would be superfluous to dwell longer upon them in such a work as this^f. If any thing besides has escaped the injuries of time, in this city, more than others, it is the great number of its cisterns, which are filled yearly with the waters of the Nile, by a canal that goes under the name of Cleopatra, and begins about two leagues from Rosetto, conveying them to this city, which has no other waters. These noble reservoirs, which once supplied this populous city, are reduced to six, which are but ill looked after; whilst the far greater part of the rest are filled up with earth.

The Pillar of Pompey, and two obelisks.

The old cisterns and conduit.

Number and character of the inhabitants.

Alexandria is reckoned to have about fourteen or fifteen thousand inhabitants; a strange colluvies of different nations, as well as from various parts of the Turkish empire; all in general given to thieving and cheating, and seditious above all others, were they not kept in awe by the severity of their government. The English and French carry on a considerable commerce with them, and have each a consul residing in it. Some Venetian ships also sail thither yearly; but with French colours, and under the protection of France. Here are likewise some Greek, Armenian, and Jewish merchants, who carry on the most part of the traffick with the Europeans, either as brokers, or upon their own stock.

Commerce.

Jews carry on the larger share.

^f De his, vide Maillet, Pococke, & al. mult.

The Christians, particularly of the Greek and Coptic churches, are mostly poor, their once-famed cathedrals of St. Mark and St. Catherine being gone to decay^g. The former hath been long since turned into a mosque, and still retains the name of the mosque of a thousand and one pillars; of which, we are told, it hath still four rows on the south and west side, but only one on the other two^h. That of St. Athanasius hath likewise undergone the same fateⁱ. However, both Greek and Copts have still their own churches, called by the names of St. Mark and St. Catherine, in which they perform cathedral worship, according to their respective rites, and pretend, that they are those which were originally erected to these two saints, and on or near the place of their martyrdom. Each set likewise shew some ancient relics; such as the patriarchal chair of the evangelist, and a fragment of the pillar on which the she-saint was beheaded, with some red spots in it, which they assert to be drops of her blood. A late traveller tells us, that these two churches are so much alike, that one description may serve for both; and all he adds to the traditional account of them, above mentioned^k, is, that they are both very dark, dirty, and so full of lamps, that one would rather take them for pagods, than for the temples of the true God; from whence he concludes, that St. Mark is infinitely better served in his church at Venice than in this of Alexandria. The Latins have likewise a convent of Franciscans, which belongs to that of Jerusalem; their chapel serves the French merchants instead of a church; and the friars, who are mostly maintained by them, serve instead of curates or chaplains.

Mosque of a thousand and one pillars.

Churches of St. Mark and St. Catherine, mean, dark, and dirty.

Convent of Franciscans.

Soldiery and government.

The city is governed, like the other cities in this kingdom, by an aga, who hath a kadi and sub-basha under him, all nominated by the head basha. It hath likewise a small garrison of soldiers, lodged in the great castle on the south-west corner, into which no European is admitted. Here are likewise continually some Arabs encamped within the walls, which make it dangerous to be abroad after sun-set, when the inhabitants are retired to their own homes: but the chief part of the garrison, which consists of a small number of janizaries and assassins are lodged in the two Pharillos, lately mentioned; where also resides the aga or governor, who commands them, in one of the ancient bulwarks. They are very

^g Norden, ubi supra. ubi supra. p. 7.

^h Granger, ubi supra. ^k Norden, vol. i. p. 42.

ⁱ Pococke,

haughty and insolent, not only to strangers, but to the mercantile and handicraft part of the inhabitants, though ever so considerable and useful.

Even the French, who carry on such considerable commerce with them, and besides keep a constant consul there, under that of Kayro, have met with the greatest difficulties, and been forced, by dint of interest, and presents to the basha at Kayro, to procure redress from this government against the insolence of one of those janizaries¹.

*Barren
soil.*

The ground, for a great way round Alexandria, is so low and flat, that the navigators have scarce any landmarks to steer by, except the tower of the Arabs, which stands about twelve leagues west of it, and Pompey's Pillar, lately mentioned. Neither doth the soil around it produce either grain or pasturage, but is every where sandy, and barren of every thing but a few dates^m; so that one may justly wonder, that its famous founder should pitch upon such a wretched spot to build so large and magnificent a city on, so difficult of access to navigators, and so destitute of water, firing, and of almost every necessary of life, whilst, at the same time, one cannot sufficiently admire the magnificence of the Ptolemies, under whom, in spite of all these disadvantages, it became one of the most populous, opulent, and plentiful cities in all the world.

*Suez, a
considerable
sea-port.*

*Where situ-
ate.*

*Its rich
commerce.*

The last town of note in this kingdom is that of Suez, which, though placed by some geographers in the Arabia Troglodytis, is nevertheless reckoned by Ptolemy one of the principal cities of the Egyptian kingdom; and is now, accordingly, under the government of the basha of Kayro. It is a considerable sea-port on the isthmus of its name, which joins Africa and Asia together, advantageously seated on a small peninsula, that juts into the utmost verge of the Red Sea, and about thirty-one leagues south-east of Kayro. By its commodious distance from thence, and the port of Gedda, it is become the staple and magazine of all the merchandises that are transported from the one to the other, as it was formerly of those that were brought from India. It continues to be still the rendezvous of all the Ethiopians, who carry thither the richest of Indian commodities, as spices, drugs of all kinds, amber, musk, a great variety of precious stones, and other rarities; which are thence conveyed to Kayro by land, on camels,

¹ Norden, ubi supra, p. 43, & seq. Pecoche, ubi supra, p. 10.
^m Grang. & al. sup. citat.

and from that place to Alexandria, on the Nile, by the Christian merchants, where they are shipped, and brought into Europe.

The town is governed by a chief officer, who has the title of captain or admiral: he presides over the maritime, and hath a kaymakan under him, who is at the head of civil affairs. He hath besides about three hundred men, one half janizaries, the rest Arabs; and these last are commanded by a cheyk, or civil officer of their own, styled fadar. Both captain and kaymakan act in their separate provinces, or jointly, as their interest leads them. The latter has his constant residence in the city, the former only as long as the ships remain in the port. But upon the whole the Arab cheyk bears the greatest sway, and hath, in some measure, all the power whenever he is pleased to interfere; because the city, having no fresh water but what is brought thither from places eight or ten miles to the east-south-east, on the other side of the Red Sea, he can, upon any disgust, hinder it from being supplied: even this water, when brought so far, though very brackish to the taste, and no less unwholesome to the body, is sold at the rate of five pence per pail-full.

Neither is this the only scarcity Suez labours under, the whole country round about producing hardly any one necessary of life; so that they are obliged to have their provisions, even down to their pot-herbs and roots, brought to them from Kayro. There is nothing to be seen all round it, for above sixty miles in compass, but a barren dry sand, without house, men, cattle, or any kind of verdure. The inhabitants are, for the greater part, Mohammedans, there being only about sixty Greek families, and few other schismatics settled in it. The town is small, but the houses, especially the public edifices, the quay, which is a very handsome long one, the magazines and mosques, are of a curious sort of stone, composed of a great variety of sea-shells of all sizes; yet so closely cemented together by nature, that nothing but the chisel or hammer can part them; and when carved and polished, it bears a fine gloss, little inferior to marble. There are four handsome mosques in the town, and a Greek church. The haven runs from north to south, but is neither large nor deep; so that, at low water, it hath not above five feet in depth, whereby neither the gallies, nor other large vessels, can come up to it, without first unlading one half of their cargo. The rest anchor at another place, about five miles from it, where they

How governed.

Provisions brought from Kayro.

they find good riding. The ships that go from Suez to Gedda are mostly built after the Indian manner. They carry between eighty and a hundred ton weight, and have port-holes for thirty guns, though the best of them have hardly above two, and the rest only two pattereros, and them only to give the usual salute. They have no pumps in them, but use leathern buckets to draw the water, with the help of a windlass, for they never trouble themselves with stowing a quantity in hogshheads; which is the less necessary in such kinds of navigation, where they only sail along the coasts, with the wind mostly in their poop, and these wells or cisterns serve them instead of barrels, of which they commonly have two or more, according to the number of passengers, so as to contain a sufficient quantity for their voyage.

Poorly defended.

The town is not much better furnished with artillery than their trading vessels, having in all no more than twenty-two old cannon, mostly unmounted, and scarce fit for use. And it is well there is so little need of them, and so little to be feared from an enemy. Thevenot tells us of a kind of barrack on the port, inclosed by a wooden lattice, in which are nine culverins, of different lengths and sizes, the largest of which is of a prodigious length and bore. At a small distance are to be seen, on an eminence, the ruins of an old castle, supposed to have been formerly built by the French, in which there is still a large cannon, under or near which the people imagine some great treasure to be buried, but guarded by dæmons. The captain of Suez keeps two small gallies, and some few inferior vessels, to cruize on this part of the Red Sea. The fishery about Suez is hardly worth mentioning: what fish is caught near it on that part being neither numerous nor wholesome, but unpalatable and hard of digestion; though we are told, that the Red Sea water is nothing so salt as that of the ocean or Mediterraneanⁿ. The rest consists chiefly in nares, and some other shell-fish, which they send to Kayro; but which is neither more pleasant nor wholesome than the fish.

Fish ill-tasted and unwholesome.

We have had frequent occasion to speak of the isthmus of Suez, and of the various attempts that have been made by the Roman emperors and kings of Egypt, to cut a channel through it, and join the two seas together. All that we need add is, that there is to be seen a deep ditch, which runs across from north to south, about three miles

ⁿ Granger, ubi supra, cap. 10.

distant from the town, seeming to extend still farther through the adjacent sands, but all the way covered and filled with them, supposed to be a relique of that vain project, which gave birth to the expression of *fodere isth-mum*.

In mentioning the religions tolerated in Egypt, it will be expected that we should take particular notice of the patriarch who is metropolitan of all the Christian, Coptic, or Eutychian sects in this kingdom. He is affirmed to have no less than one hundred and forty bishoprics, either in Egypt, Syria, Nubia, and other parts, subject to his patriarchate; besides the Abuna, or *bishop of the Abyssinians*, who is likewise nominated and consecrated by him, as we shall see in the sequel. The misfortune is, that those diocessans, as well as the whole Coptic clergy and laity, are so oppressed by the government, that they have laboured not only under the greatest poverty, but, what is still worse, most stubborn and deplorable ignorance, ever since they embraced, in part, the Eutychian heresy (S); which having

Metropolitan, number of bishops under him.

(S) Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria, was the first who maintained the doctrine of one nature in Christ; for which he was excommunicated and banished, and died in exile, though not before he had made a vast number of disciples, and some of the highest rank. He was supported herein by Dioscorus; who, to revenge his predecessor, called a new council at Ephesus, in opposition to that of Chalcedon, which had condemned him, and consisted of six hundred and thirty prelates and fathers, with pope Leo the Great at their head, and caused both pope and bishops to be excommunicated in their turn. And hence sprung the fatal breach between the Latin and Alexandrian churches; which hath continued ever since, in spite of the most strenuous efforts of the Roman missionaries to reconcile them to their church.

From this time, the Alexandrian patriarchs threw off the title of Papa, which they had assumed in common with those of Rome, and made an express law, forbidding any of their successors to resume it. Dioscorus was punished for his indiscreet zeal, and, in his turn, anathematized, banished his patriarchate, and forced to die in exile, for his obstinacy in refusing to appear before the council. Proterus, whom the court of Constantinople had nominated in his room, was assassinated in the cathedral, on Good Friday, 477, in a sedition raised by the Monophysites, who had already chosen another patriarch. From that time, there have been two patriarchs; the one of the Greeks, stiled the orthodox, and the other of the Copts, stiled schismatics; between whom hath reigned a perpetual war, till the Divine Providence

A. D. 451.

*Now much
oppressed by
the Turks,
hated by the
Greeks, &c.*

ing been soon after condemned by the fourth council of Chalcedon, without any success, with respect to them, they became liable to all the anathemas and persecutions both of the Greeks and Latins, and were used by them,

Providence permitted them both to fall under the heavy yoke of the Mohammedan khalfs, and next under the oppressive dominion of the Turkish monarchs.

However, the Coptic party had long before the mortification to see that of the Greeks gain considerable ground on them, and their own to decline in proportion, both in number and credit; and it was actually sunk to a very low ebb, when their great restorer, the learned Jacobus Zanzales, bishop of Edeffa, appeared in defence of the Monophysite doctrine; and by his writings, as well as indefatigable travels through most parts of the East, did so effectually revive and spread it, that he hath been revered and esteemed ever since by the whole sect, who have affected to call themselves Jacobites from him; though the other Christians, as well as the Turks, call them still by their old name Copts, and some of the former, in contempt for their being circumcised, give them the nick-name of Kuffi, or Girdlers; meaning by it, that they are Christians only from the girdle upwards, but carry the scar of Judaism below it (1). For they have, since their first separation, whether out of a spirit of opposition, or in imitation of their neighbours the Abissinians,

adopted both that and a multitude of other Jewish rites; of which we shall speak in the sequel. Their monks, likewise, who are dispersed all over the Upper Egypt, in poor wretched convents, among the most rocky and solitary parts, have adopted so much of the ascetic life of the old Jewish hermits, called Essenians, in Judea and Syria, and Therapeutes, in Egypt, that they are looked upon as their spiritual offspring, and imitate them in nothing so much as in their long fasts, singing and prayers, and other still more extravagant severities. Their patriarch commonly resides in the monastery of St. Macarius, with about twenty other monks, who live chiefly on the product of the ground, which they themselves cultivate. Their churches, church utensils, as well as their dress, cells, gardens, &c. are as poor and mean as their diet, all over Egypt. Those of Syria and Palestine, where they are also very numerous, keep their churches and convents in better order, and are commonly more learned and civilized; whilst those of Egypt, by their ascetic way of life, contract a certain sourness in their temper, which, joined to their ignorance and tenaciousness, disqualify them for any conversation but among themselves.

(1) Purchas Relat. lib. vi. cap. 5. Rogers Terre Sainte, lib. ii. cap. 4. Pori Additions on Lee Afric. p. 390. Vid Pocock, Granger, Norden, & al. sup. citat.

especially

especially by the former, as irreclaimable heretics, outcasts from the Christian church, and unworthy of the Christian name.

In this state of enmity, contempt, and misery, which contributed only the more to confirm them in their obstinacy and hatred, they continued till the invasion of Egypt by the Turks; when, partly out of revenge to the Greeks, and partly in hopes of obtaining better quarter from these powerful invaders, they joined them with great readiness, glad of so favourable an opportunity of retaliating the severities and cruelties they had suffered under them, with interest. Accordingly, they are taxed with having displayed a more than ordinary zeal against them; by which means, they got the patriarch confirmed by those conquerors in all his privileges and liberties, which the rest have enjoyed ever since; nay, they have preserved a kind of superiority of regard from the government, above that of the Greek church, who likewise resides in that metropolis, as head of his own flock, since their separation from the western or Latin church. Hence proceeded that virulent animosity, and unchristian hatred, which hath reigned between the Copts and Greeks, ever since their becoming subject to the Turks; and which the Romish missionaries have endeavoured to put an end to, by trying every way to reconcile both to their ancient mother the church of Rome.

Side with the Turks against them.

Obtain a confirmation of their patriarchate.

The principal doctrine, which the Copts maintain with great strenuousness, in opposition to other Christian churches, is that of the Monophysites, or one single nature in Christ. This error was at first propagated in Egypt and Syria, rather by sword and slaughter, like that of Mohammed, than by dint of reason and argument. The patriarchs of Alexandria, were both rich and powerful enough to claim an excessive authority over the clergy and laity; of which the ecclesiastical history of those times gives many pregnant and dreadful instances^o, which we willingly omit, as out of our province. And we need not wonder if it hath been maintained much in the same way, and with the like obstinacy, ever since. Their prelates and priests, conscious of their own ignorance and incapacity to defend it, either industriously avoid entering into a controversy with the Greeks or Latins; or, if they can-

Avoid disputes.

Their great power formerly.

^o Vide Socrat. chap. 14, & 15, & Eutych. Annal. Alexand. sub. an. 410, & seq. Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. tom. ii. pass. Renaudot. Liturg. Or. La Croze Hist. Christianism. Ethiopiæ, & al. mult.

not shun it, only appeal to their traditions and customs; alleging, that it would be impious, as well as presumptuous, to pretend to be wiser than our forefathers.

*Circumci-
sion in both
sexes.*

A.D. 1686.

*Remissness
in baptism.*

*Confession
and abso-
lution.*

This obstinacy extends no less to matters of practice than belief. They have adopted sundry Jewish rites, in common with the Abissinians, which, though abolished from the first ages of the Christian church, they still observe with great zeal and precision. Witness their circumcision and baptism, the former of which, if we may judge from their practice, they look on as so essential, that they administer it to both sexes; and so scrupulous are they in that point, that, in the year 1689, one of their most considerable persons, at Alexandria, refused to espouse a young woman of sixteen years of age, who had been granted to him in marriage, till she was first resigned into the priest's hands, to undergo that operation; whereas they are so remiss with respect to baptism, that they suffer their children to go without it, not only several months, but frequently years, without shewing the least concern about, or anxiety for, the many that die deprived of it. It is true, that, according to what they style their canon, that ceremony ought to be performed on the males forty, and on the females eighty days after their birth, according to their adopted Jewish ordinance for the purification of women, to the end the mother might be present at it.

There seems to be the same indecent contrast in all the other branches of the Coptic rites and church discipline. They admit of confession; but, instead of a private auricular and particular detail of their sins, exact no more than a public and general one, at proper appointed seasons, in which it sufficeth them to acknowledge themselves sinners; immediately after which, the good bishop or priest gives them his absolution, in the same general terms: "God absolves or forgives you;" and, without any other ceremony, reproof, or exhortation, dismisses them. In some cases of meum and tuum, and the like, they may be summoned to a private confession, where the person is examined about the fact; but it seldom produces the desired effect.

If they are more strict in one thing than in another, it is in their fasts; whether during their Lent, which begins with them fifty-five days before Easter, or their Advent, which lasts full forty-three days before Christmas, or on the eves of their holy days, or on other fast days; during which they eat neither flesh, fish, fowl, nor eggs, and use neither butter or oil with their lenten fare; nor do they drink any

any thing but water all that time; and never break their fast till a little before sun-set. They even oblige their sick and dying, as well as children after they are ten years old, to observe the same regimen^p. They preserve no regard for their sabbath; and, for that reason, not only exclude it from being a fast day, but inveigh much against those that do otherwise, as being contrary to their ancient canon.

Strict fasting, long advent, and lent.

Their courtships and marriages are pretty much after the manner that is observed all over the East. The maids are kept strictly out of sight, and not seen by their future spouses till the day of marriage; so that the addresses are performed by the relation of the man to those of the woman, and the terms of marriage concluded between them. When these are agreed upon, the ceremony is performed, without shew, at the house of the intended wife; to which the bridegroom repairs with his friends. The priest is called in, who reads over the marriage office before them; which, like the rest of their liturgy and divine service, is performed in the ancient Coptic, though understood by few even of their learned clergy. The ring is blessed, and exchanged from the finger of the man to that of the woman; who appears covered all over with a large veil, and discovers little else but the finger or hand that is to receive it. The priest's blessing concludes all, or rather introduces such a banquet, and other rejoicings, as circumstances can afford; for, as we observed before, the Copts, as well as all the rest, are commonly very poor. The marriage-knot, however, is so far from being esteemed indissoluble among them, that not only the man, but, what is rarely permitted or seen in those eastern parts, the woman, hath power to apply to the patriarch for a divorce; which he seldom fails of granting, not only in cases of breach of conjugal fidelity, but of any other dislike, whether mutual or only one side, no matter which; the motive that induces the patriarch to this ready condescension is twofold; the money which is commonly given for obtaining it, and the consideration that his refusal would not prevent their parting; for the displeased party would do it without his leave^q. Other branches of the Coptic faith, discipline, and worship, we shall refer to a subsequent chapter, in which we shall give the history of the great empire of Abyssinia, where they

Courtship and marriage.

Divorce allowed to both sexes, and upon trifling occasions.

^p Vide Eutyech. Annal. Alexand. sub. indice Heretic. sub verbo Jacobitzæ. Vide & Maillet, l. c. xii. Pococke, p. 246. ^q Vide Maillet, & al.

*These patriarchs
not to be
deposed,
but for
heresy.*

make up the whole of the established religion, are most strictly and universally observed, and whence they have been transmitted to Europe, in a more ample and explicit manner, by unexceptionable hands. All, therefore, that needs be added with relation to the Alexandrian patriarchs, is, that they cannot be deposed by their bishops or government, except for apostacy or heresy; whereas those of the Maronites, Greeks, and Armenians, are often liable to it, through the avarice of the Egyptian bashas, and the feuds that reign among their suffragans and clergy. So that the patriarch of Alexandria, from the moment of his election and consecration, becomes independent on any or all his diocesans, in all cases but that of heresy and defection from the Monophysite faith; for which several of them have been deposed, and excommunicated^r. As to their authority, they retain so much of it, with regard to the election, of the patriarch, that he is still chosen to that dignity by and from among their bishops. These, at first, gave their suffrages, *viva voce*; but if any dispute arises about the majority, or if the number of voters happens to be equal, the suffragans then give the name of the candidate in writing, and lay it, with great solemnity, on the high altar. However, the richest of the laity have a great influence in all the elections, and frequently cause them to be cancelled, if they like not the person chosen, they being the persons who lay down the money with which their firman, or patent, is purchased; which is afterwards repaid to them out of his revenue. When the election is over, he is first installed in the great church of St. Macarius, at Kairo, where he is elected; and afterwards at that of St. Mark, at Alexandria. He is obliged to preach once a year to his clergy; whilst they are all exempt from, or, to speak more properly, are unfit for, that duty; instead of which they read homilies and legendary books to the laity, on set days, from the pulpit. They chuse young deacons to serve in the lower offices of the mass, and other parts of the divine service; and who, though but eight or nine years old, receive the sacrament as often as it is administered^s.

As for the others, tolerated in Egypt; such as the Jewish, Greek, Armenian, and Latin, there will be the less occasion for us to expatiate upon them, as they have

^r De his vide Assem. in Dissert. in Monophys. ubi supra.

^s Pococke,

been amply spoken of in a former part of this work. Much less need we add any thing to what we have already said concerning Islamism, which is the established religion in this country, and which has been fully treated of in the beginning of the Arabic history. There we have also taken notice of the reduction of this kingdom under their obedience, by the warlike khalif Al Moktafi, by whom that religion was first established in it, and is in all respects the same in Egypt as it is in the heart of the Othman empire. We have now no more to say upon that article, except their grand pilgrimage to Mecca, the center of the Mohammedan faith, which every Moslem is obliged to make at least once in his life (K). It sets out from Kairo once a year, and is one of the most splendid and numerous cavalcades, or, as they term it, caravans, in all the East. Such is the zeal of the Mohammedans for that venerable city, that numberless multitudes of pilgrims, of all ranks and conditions, croud yearly thither from Turkey in Europe, from Asia, and Africa, notwithstanding the vast expence, fatigues, and dangers, which attend that pilgrimage, and repair to Kairo, the place whence the caravan sets out, from Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, and other parts of Barbary, through long and dreadful deserts, for the sake of joining them in that meritorious pilgrimage, which, among the other blessings it is attended with, entitles those who have performed it but once in

*Vast zeal
of the
Moslems
for their
pilgrimage;
who are
greatly
respected
after it.*

(K) This famed pilgrimage is affirmed to be of much more ancient date than Mohammed; not indeed on account of Abraham's tomb, or his offering his son Isaac there, as the Mohammedans pretend, but on account of the famed oak of Mambre, or Mamre, under which that patriarch dwelt, and entertained the three angels, and, as Nicholas Damascenus tells us, became famous for the pilgrimages which all the neighbouring nations, Heathens as well as Jews and Christians, made

to it. Eusebius and St. Jerom assure us that it was a place of great resort in their time, not only on a religious but commercial account; so that Mohammed only enforced the continuation by new motives, which, added to the old ones, could not but prove effectual. Nevertheless his followers have not thought it of such absolute necessity, in order to their admission into paradise, but that it may be performed by proxy, provided the principal pay the charges of it (1).

(1) See Prideaux, Mr. Sale.

*Route to
Mecca in-
terrupted
by war,
and a new
one disco-
vered.*

their lives, to be esteemed and revered, at their return, as great saints, by all their countrymen (L).

We observed, at the beginning of this chapter, that the governors or bashas of Egypt take the whole charge of this caravan. They appoint the chief officers and escorte which are to attend it, and furnish the rich pavilion and other hangings, which are designed for the grand mosque at Mecca. The route which they take from Kairo to Mecca, is the very same which the Mohammedans of Africa followed, both in going and coming, before Egypt was subdued by the Turks, and consequently the best known and beaten; though these caravans were, in all probability, as often interrupted, as the wars between the Ommiyad and Alid khalifs raged: so that, to satisfy the devotions of the pilgrims on the one hand, and the greediness of the merchants on the other, they had been obliged to seek out for a safer route, which was by sailing up the Nile, quite to the farthest part of the Higher Egypt, towards the small town of Alessowan, and thence to cross the ridge of mountains called since Moccatem, from the road which they were obliged to cut through it, in order to come to the small sea-port of Aydab, on the Red Sea, which took them up seventeen days; thence they crossed over to Giddah, distant about two days sailing, in transports, sent thence for that purpose, which, in two days more, landed them on the Arabian coast.

This is the route they had been forced to trace for these caravans at an immense cost, not only in cutting a road fit for them through such a ridge of mountains (M), but

(L) Meaning, doubtless, the ignorant and superstitious part of them; for the wiser sort know full well, that pride, avarice, and other worldly ends, have as great a share in these pilgrimages, as religion and superstition; seeing the city of Mecca is, at that time, no less a place of commerce than devotion.

(M) In this ridge, we are told, were found those mines of emeralds mentioned by Strabo, and so famed for their beauty and hardness, but which

have been either exhausted, or, as others will have it, forgot and lost long since. The Arabs, we are told, are still in search of them, and find the roots, or refuse of them in great abundance, as well as, sometimes, precious stones, crystal, old medals, and small images of earthen ware, but few of these entire. These emerald roots are neither pellucid, nor of a deep green, like the fine old ones above mentioned; whence it is imagined, that the mine is exhausted.

in

in digging wells, of a great depth, in the rock, to supply them with water, which after all, was so brackish as to be scarce potable by man or beast. But no sooner were those bloody wars between the successors of Mohammed happily terminated, than every thing began to run in its ancient channel, and the former route was resumed, which hath been followed ever since, with this farther conveniency, that when Omar had made himself master of Egypt, and had chosen Mecca for the place of his residence, he sent orders to Amru, whom he had appointed governor of it, to cleanse the old khalis, or, as others have it, to cut a great canal from Kairo to Suez, for the more easy conveyance of the merchandizes which are sent from thence to Mecca: the misfortune was, that this canal, through the negligence of the Egyptians, was suffered in time to be quite choaked up with the mud of the Nile, by which this carriage by sea from Kairo to Mecca was quite set aside, and the caravan deprived of the benefit of it. Another inconveniency attending it, is that its departure is fixed to a certain day of their year; but as they reckon it only by moons, which makes it shorter by four days than the solar, it must of course happen, that, in the space of thirty-three of their's, or thirty-two of our's, that day runs through all the four seasons, whether convenient or not for so long a march. It consists of two encampments, which are likewise fixed; those of Kairo, Constantinople, Damascus, and other places, compose the first; and those of Africa, from Morocco quite round to Tripoly, make up the second; and this sets out one day after the former, and serves as a kind of a rear-guard, and encamps each night on the spot which the other occupied the preceding evening: but on the return the order is inverted, and these march first, and form the vanguard to the latter. This disposition is made with a view to prevent those Barbaric Africans attempting to make themselves masters of the city of Mecca; the Turks pretending that there is some old prophecy, or prediction, that they would do so*. And though that prophecy respects all the Magharbin, or western nations, and may as well mean the Europeans, or Christians, who have a greater claim to that situation; yet, as they are not sure which of the two it may mean, it is natural for them to

A canal cut from Kairo; but is choaked up again with mud,

Turks afraid of an old prophecy.

* Thevenot, Maillet, Pococke, & al. ubi sup. x Maillet, ubi supra, lett. ult. Pococke, ubi supra, lib. iv. cap. 5. & al. sup. citat.

take all proper precautions against both; though they are more afraid of the former, because they are of the same religion, and equally the disciples of Mohammed.

These caravans join to their devotion a considerable commerce, and return home laden with the richest goods from Persia and India, which come to Gedda by the Red Sea, and are thence conveyed to Mecca; and this added to the richness of the presents which are carried thither, and the strong prepossession of the Turks about the prophecy above mentioned, makes it necessary that they should be attended by a sufficient guard, for which end there is always a draught made of all the best troops in Egypt to escort them, at the head of which is the emir hadge, or prince of the pilgrims. This is commonly some opulent bey, appointed by the basha, and hath, besides the guard above mentioned, between four hundred and five hundred horsemen, well mounted and armed, whom he keeps in pay at his own charge, and for which the Porte allows him one hundred thousand sequins, over and above his other perquisites arising from the immense quantity of provisions, which he causes to be conveyed on a vast multitude of camels; the letting out most of those that carry the trading pilgrims merchandize; the presents which those who use their own, and a vast number of officers and other inferiors, such as victuallers and cooks, are obliged to make to him: all these put together amount to a much larger sum. His authority is in some measure absolute, from his first setting out of the gates of Kairo to his re-entering: he hath power of life and death over the whole caravan; is sole judge of all crimes, misdemeanors, and contests, which happen during the whole pilgrimage; condemns to fines, bastinado, or even death, at his discretion, without being called to any after account, either for that, or for the vast sums which he sinks into his pockets during the journey*.

*Escorte of
the cara-
van.*

*The com-
mander in
chief, or
emir
hadge.
His vast
power and
profit.*

*Ceremony
at his en-
trance into
the adwan.*

A day or two before his setting out he repairs to the castle, with a vast retinue of his own friends, domestics, and all the officers belonging to the escorte; and entering the hall or dewan, is received with great ceremony by the basha at the head of that grand court, consisting of near three thousand persons. There his khathe sharif, or patent, which confirms him emir hadge, is publicly read, together with the inventory of all the precious things which the basha then commits to his care, in their pre-

* *Iid. ubi supra.*

fence, namely, the new pavilion, the number of purses which the Grand Signor sends as presents to the city and temple of Mecca, and of those which are allotted by him for defraying the charges of the pilgrimage. The basha then presents him with a splendid vest of superfine cloth, richly lined, and a number of others, of less value, to his officers; to which he usually adds a large quantity of provisions, such as cattle, fowl, rice, sugar, and coffee, to the value of two about thousand crowns, for which the emir, at his return, presents him with some of the richest Indian merchandizes. Upon his leaving the dewan he rides through the castle, and several streets of Kairo, attended by the same splendid retinue, and clothed with his new magnificent vest, the rich pavilion being carried before him, to his own palace, where he gives them, and the grand officers of that city, an elegant entertainment. The day, and especially the evening before his departure, is wholly spent in feasting and all kinds of rejoicings between the pilgrims and their friends, who come to take their leave, and appear in the finest dresses and equipages; the very ladies and their women, though on all other occasions so closely confined, are permitted to assist at this festivity, and go thither in their covered litters or sedans; so that the city and the camp, where the general rendezvous is kept, on the banks of the lake, about three or four miles from the city, afford one of the most delightful and magnificent spectacles of the whole year, nothing being seen or heard, during that short interval, but the finest illuminations and fire-works, accompanied with a profusion of the richest fare, and the greatest variety of concerts of music, vocal and instrumental.

The presents delivered to him there.

We have already hinted, that the number of those which compose the caravan seldom amounts to less than forty thousand, but is often much greater in times of peace and plenty, when the commerce is not obstructed. All the Mohammedans in general are brought up from their infancy with such an ardent desire of making that pilgrimage, that neither the fatigue and dangers, nor even the great expence that attends it, can allay their zeal and devotion for it, their very women being allowed to perform it with their husbands, or even without them; the pretence of devotion excusing the irregularity of the pilgrimage amongst the Turks, as well as it doth amongst some Christian nations, no less scrupulous and delicate

Number of pilgrims.

Women allowed to make this pilgrimage.

than they in that point. However, they are very careful of performing it with all the decency and reserve that the case will allow. The rich travel in close litters, or sedans, carried between two camels, and those of the lower rank in large covered baskets, two of which are thrown over, and hang on each side of a single camel, wherein they sit conveniently, sheltered from wind and rain, as well as from sight. Others, who cannot afford this kind of convenience, have a way of riding on a single beast, yet so covered as to be quite out of sight; and all proper care is taken, and strict discipline kept, to prevent all that are of that sex from being insulted by the others.

*Paint and
other orna-
ments of
the cara-
van.*

All the camels belonging to the caravan are painted yellow, and have some kind of ornament on their heads, breasts, and harness, especially those that go at the head of every company, which are known by the plumes of red ostrich feathers on their heads, a fine flag on each side, and their trappings are bespangled with variety of shells. The second and third of each drove have bells on each side, about a foot long, and all of them under their saddle a coarse carpet to cover them at night². Those which belong to the emir hadge, and to the richer sort of pilgrims of both sexes, are still more splendidly adorned; but none more magnificent than those which are made choice of to carry the presents to Mecca, especially that which bears the great pavilion, called Mahmel, or covering of Mohammed and Abraham's tomb, which is made in the shape of a pyramid, with a square base, richly embroidered with gold on a green and red ground, the view of the house of Mecca being embroidered upon it, with a portico round it. The camel designed to bear it is said to be bred for that purpose. This is, like the rest, painted yellow, with a powder called henna, and covered with a rich carpet that hangs down to his feet, so that nothing is seen of him but his head, neck and crupper, which are richly ornamented. After he has performed this office he is esteemed sacred, and never more put to any use. The sum total of the camels belonging to the emir hadge amounts to three thousand, but the rest is beyond computation.

*The grand
pavilion
and sacred
camel.*

As for their encampments, they are so settled, that the caravan shall arrive at Mecca in thirty-eight days, neither more nor less, let the roads and weather prove favourable or not, unless the wild Arabs chance, as they sometimes do, to attack and plunder them; at which times they are

² Pococke, ubi sup. book iv. chap. 5.

obliged to join all their forces to drive them away. On this account, besides the great guns which attend the caravan, they load some of their camels with a smaller sort, which serve to give the signal for encamping and marching, as well as to fright away those freebooters, when they approach them too nearly.

Often obliged to fight the wild Arabs.

The departure of the caravan is fixed to the 27th day of the moon which follows their Ramadan. They commonly set out every day about four or five hours before sun-rising, and continue their march till about two in the afternoon. But when the season proves excessive hot, they begin to move an hour before sun-set, and march on till two hours before sun-rise on the next morning. At such time the north wind commonly blows very brisk, and is so refreshing to them, that they not only open that side of their tents to it, but hang vessels in the air full of water, which quickly contract a most delightful coolness: but whenever that wind chances to fail them, as it sometimes doth, though rarely, the heat becomes so intolerable, that the people are seized with such diseases, accompanied with a lowness of spirits, that they seldom bury less than three or four hundred in a day, which are perfectly stifled for want of breath; and if the wind blows from the south, it is so pestilentially hot, as to kill instantaneously. It often happens that these winds bring with them such clouds, or rather mountains of sand, as serve to bury the bodies of those whom they have smothered; by which means they quickly become so dry and light, that the subsequent caravans, by taking the same route, have not only marched over them, but felt them under their feet; and sometimes, by treading upon their toes, have reared their withered carcasses full against their faces.

Manner of marching.

When the caravan hath got safely through all these dangers, and is arrived at Beddar, or Beddr, six days journey from Mecca, it is joined by that of Damascus; which setting out from that capital on the same day that this departs from Kairo, and observing the same number of encampments, arrives there at the same time; after which they march jointly to Mecca. In this last they stay three days, waiting the arrival of those of Baghdad, Balsora, and other parts of Asia, as well as those which come from India by sea; all which usually get thither by that time, which is the day fixed for their repairing in one body to Mount Araffat, distant about six hours from Mecca, supposed by them to be the same mountain on which Abraham offered up his son Isaac. There they celebrate

Are met by other caravans.

celebrate

celebrate the festival called Korban Beyram, or second Beyram, *the Feast of the Sacrifice*, from the immense numbers of oxen, sheep, goats, fowl, pigeons, and other poultry, which are slaughtered on that festival, and given to the poor, all over the Moslem world, and here in particular, either upon, or more probably at the foot of the mountain, by every pilgrim, according to his circumstances or devotion.

*Visit other
places.*

This preliminary ceremony being ended, they all begin to pair their nails, shave their heads and beards, and wash themselves all over, some only covering their nudities with a small piece of linen, whilst others, neglecting that superstitious nicety, as they think it, expose their naked bodies to public view, and repeat their prayers, suitable to the occasion, with all possible intenseness. Then they return to Mecca by the same way, and pay their next visit and devotions to the house or station of the patriarch Abraham, the Kaaba, and other holy places of devotion in that city, of which we have given an account in a former volume. The grand new pavilion, or covering, brought from Kairo, is put up there instead of the old one, which is delivered to the emir hadge, to be conveyed by him to Constantinople, and presented to the Grand Signor, who used to have it cut in pieces, and distributed among all the Mohammedan princes and great officers, as most valuable presents. But whether it is their regard for such sort of relics, or on what other account we know not, but those emirs have long since claimed a right to it, and cut it into shreds, which they sell among the pilgrims at an extravagant price, they being all ambitious to purchase some particle of it; and happy is he that can carry away the smallest bit either of this or of the old hangings, which are likewise sold.

*Vast traffick
of that
fair.*

All this time not only the mercantile part of the caravan, but all that come to this solemn fair, are either exchanging their merchandizes for those of Persia and India, or buying for themselves and families wares and other nicknacks and trifles; the poorest and meanest among them being no less ambitious to carry home something from that celebrated city, by means of the great and general liberality which at that time reigns among the rich and devout. As we have elsewhere described the city of Mecca, we need not remind our readers that its smallness makes it altogether unfit to contain such a vast concourse of people, wares, beasts, and carriages as resort to it at this season, and that each caravan hath its respective encampments

campments in the plain about it, where care is taken that both merchants and pilgrims be accommodated with all necessary conveniences during their short stay. And it is a surprising thing to see what prodigious quantities and variety of the richest and most valuable commodities from Persia, India, and other parts, are bought and sold during that short space, besides the coffee, myrrh, incense, and other products of Arabia, amounting to several millions; and what is still more surprising is, the extraordinary ease and silence with which the business is dispatched; the whole time of the caravan's stay there being confined to twelve days; which being ended, the emir hadge gives his signal for their departure. However, it often happens that the wealthy merchants, not having been able to expedite all their affairs by that time, are forced to apply to him for a respite of two or three days longer; but this is seldom obtained without some valuable presents; after which they may easily recover that time, by making a shorter stay than usual at the places through which they pass on their return. From their departure from Mecca, they arrive again at Beddar, in six days, from which they reach the city of Medina in three more, where the first Mohammedan khalifs resided, before they removed their seat to Damascus, and where the pilgrims pay their devotions at Mohammed's sepulchre, as well as the stately mosque erected over it. Here they likewise make their presents to the place, every one according to his ability; and after a stay of three days return by the way of Yamboo, whilst that of Damascus leaves them here in its return to Syria. On its march, that of Kairo meets in its way, and at four different encampments, a fresh convoy, with a plentiful supply of provisions and refreshments, sent from thence for that purpose; the last of which they receive when they come within ten days journey of that city^b. But nothing, in their estimation, affords them a more delicious refreshment than the waters of the Nile, after those brackish and distasteful draughts which they had been forced to swallow during that long and fatiguing journey. Their next delight is the sight of their friends and relations, who fail not to meet them at the place where they parted from them, and where, after the first congratulations, they are received with the same rejoicings, feastings, and other tokens of mirth, as had accompanied their parting.

*Visit Mohammed's
tomb at
Medina.*

*Return to
Kairo.*

^b Maillet, ubi supra.

From this time those who had the good fortune to return home safe, are dubbed with the title of Hadge, or Pilgrim, which is always prefixed to their names, as Hadge Mehamed, Hadge Mustapha, &c. and have a particular respect paid them above the rest. When introduced into their houses by their near relations, they find the entrance adorned with garlands, and other trophies, and the inside splendidly decorated with domestic ornaments, for their reception. Those that survive this pilgrimage, appear so sun-burnt, emaciated, and strangely altered, that their relations can hardly know them; and the poor camels, which have borne the greatest burdens, bring little more of their own with them than skin and bone; and though laden with the richest merchandizes, are no sooner rid of their loads, than they are turned out by their inhuman masters, to starve in the barren sands, being neither fit for sale, nor thought worth the keeping; even that which was chosen to carry the pavilion, and is entitled to a plentiful and agreeable maintenance for the remainder of his life, is commonly dispatched in a little time by poison, or some other private death, by those who are entrusted with the care of its allowance. There remains only that we subjoin the detail and order of the cavalcade, which guards and escorts it, and this the reader may see at one view under the following note(M).

It

(M) The order of the cavalcade which escorts the caravan's march.

1. One iron cannon, and six brass ones, each drawn by two horses.

2. Four frames embroidered, and supposed of leather, drawn by men on foot, and carrying the powder and ball.

3. Seven camels laden with the provisions of the emir hadge, or prince of the pilgrims.

4. Four persons mounted on camels, and playing upon some musical instruments.

5. A tartavan, or litter, carried by four mules.

6. Eight light litters of the

emir hadge, each carried by two camels.

7. Seventy camels laden with biscuit.

8. Fourteen camels laden with oil and butter.

9. Fifty camels laden with corn, and one with two boxes full of long wax candles, for the service of the house of Mecca.

10. Ten camels laden with coffee, sugar, &c.

11. Four camels carrying kitchen utensils.

12. Nine camels laden with plates.

13. Eight camels laden with the kitchen tent, and dressers for the cooks.

14 Eighty-six

It is not, however, to be supposed, that the commerce *Traffic of* which that caravan carries on with Mecca, consider- *Egypt.* able

14. Eighty-six camels unladen, belonging to the emir hadge.
15. Twelve others in the same manner, richly caparisoned.
16. Sixty more, belonging to the emir hadge.
17. Fifty-four more, laden with water.
18. Ten more, laden with tents.
19. Eight more, laden with water.
20. Twelve ditto, carrying each a large box on both sides, for the use of the sick; two of them covered, and containing medicines, and one with two boards, with holes, for washing the dead; all of them provided by private benefactions.
21. Two camels, on which were the persons who take care of the sick.
22. Kettle-drummers, mounted on camels, and beating on them. The same almost at the end of every string of camels, at the distance of near half an hour, follow the rest.
23. Six camels laden with iron frames, in which they make their fire.
24. A single litter.
25. Four loaded camels.
26. Another kettle-drummer, mounted on a camel.
27. Twenty camels unladen.
28. Twenty cases, with balls and powder, on camels.
29. Six camels laden with tents and other things.
30. Five more cases of powder and ball.
31. Ten camels laden with water.
32. One camel mounted by a kettle-drummer, &c.
33. More cases of powder and ball.
34. A single litter.
35. Two laden camels.
36. Another with music.
37. Thirty camels unladen.
38. Ten overseers of the water camels.
39. Three camels more; and a fourth with music.
40. Twenty more with loads.
41. Two with water.
42. Sixteen water overseers on horseback.
43. Three camels mounted by men.
44. Forty unladen.
45. Four more cases of powder and ball.
46. Two camels laden with water.
47. The imam, or head sheyk, who is the chaplain of the caravan, and offers the sacrifices on Mount Arafat; his garment of ceremony white; he carries a green flag with his right-hand, with which he blesses the people, by waving it gently to and fro.
48. Eleven camels unladen.
49. Three more mounted by pilgrims.
50. Two others with music.
51. Two mounted by the sheyks who lead the van.
52. Twenty more without loads.
53. Twenty laden with water, and one with drums.
54. Ten others unladen.
55. Five

able as it is, constitutes the whole trade of this kingdom; though it is allowed, by all writers, to be greatly diminished

55. Five more with water.
56. The banner of the spahis, called cherites.
57. Thirty of their body.
58. Twenty iskars of the same body, each having a pike carried before him.
59. The fardar of the sheyks, and his lieutenant.
60. Some of his led horses.
61. Two seraches who serve under him.
62. Twelve slaves on horseback.
63. Thirty iskars, or elders of them.
64. Four slaves in coats of mail made of wire.
65. Sixty of the body called tuphekies.
66. One-and-twenty other slaves.
67. Twenty men on camels.
68. Twelve camels for the fardar.
69. Two others without loads.
70. Two others with kettle-drums.
71. Seven more with baggage.
72. Fifty of the body of the giemelues.
73. Their fardar.
74. Twenty foldiers, with ten slaves, carrying bows and arrows.
75. Thirteen camels with men on them.
76. Two with kettle-drummers.
77. Four laden ones.
78. Two officers called oda bashas.
79. Two led horses.
80. Two sabaderiks in castans.
81. Seven camels laden.
82. Two led horses.
83. Two oda bashas.
84. One camel.
85. Thirty-four chouxes, or messengers of the dowan.
86. Other officers of it.
87. The officers of the emir hadge, in the following order:
88. A choux, or messenger, in black.
89. Three standards.
90. Five saddled camels.
91. Eight led horses.
92. Two seraches.
93. Two janizaries.
94. Two kajas of the emir hadge.
95. His hasnadar, or treasurer.
96. Twenty-six saddled camels.
97. Five led horses.
98. One saddled camel.
99. Twenty-eight men on camels, two of them playing on musical instruments.
100. Five laden camels.
101. The body of the afabs.
102. Their two cabadericks.
103. Other oda bashas.
104. The standard of the afabs.
105. Three in castans, who walked.
106. Three others in the habit of ceremony.
107. The fardar and his lieutenant.
108. Saddled camels.
109. Men on laden camels.
110. Players on instruments.
111. Another

nished from what it was under their ancient monarchs. We have already mentioned some of their manufactures, which are exported into most parts of the East, besides which, a very considerable share of its product is likewise conveyed to Europe, namely, flax, both in ramo, combed, *Produce and exports.*

111. Another body of asabs.
112. Another of janizaries.
113. Two sabaderiks of that body.
114. Two janizaries.
115. Two seraches.
116. A standard.
117. Three men walking in caftans.
118. Three janissaries.
119. Their fardar.
120. His lieutenant.
121. Two janizaries.
122. Two saddled camels.
123. Thirty-four men on camels.
124. Eight loaded camels.
125. Another body of janizaries.
126. A standard bearer.
127. Another in a leopard's skin.
128. Twenty-one chouxes.
129. The aga of the seven military bodies; with silver chains hanging from their horses bridles to their breast-plates.
130. Twelve beys, and before each two shatirs in blue.
131. The trogomam aga.
132. The mute Serica Bafhee.
133. His guards.
134. The cooffer caja.
135. The chouxes guards.
136. All the attendants of the emir hadge.
137. Eight janizaries in the habit of ceremony.
138. Four officers of the basha.
139. Four janizaries.
140. A standard.
141. Two more after that.
142. Four Arab sheyks.
143. Two mad sheyks, bare-headed, and in white shirts.
144. The emir hadge, richly mounted and dressed, attended by
145. About forty foldiers.
146. Two janizaries.
147. The kaja of the dowan.
148. Sixty slaves with bows and arrows.
149. Two imams.
150. Four led horses.
151. Three standards.
152. A band of music.
153. Four led camels.
154. Twenty-six laden.
155. Two men on camels.
156. The sheyks of the mosques, followed by several companies of tradesmen, with their standards, some of them dancing, the fishermen carrying fish like serpents, probably eels, tied to the ends of their fishing rods.
157. Four chouxes of the dowan.
158. Sixteen janizaries in their high drefs.
159. The sheyk called Cafani.
160. The great standard carried by a proper officer, mounted on a camel.
161. Five camels, three of them with long trappings, richly embroidered.
162. The pavilion, or covering, as described above.

and

and spun into thread; cotton spun, calicoes of all sorts and dyes, yellow wax, saffron, senna, cassia, sugar, and sal armoniac. To all which we may add, a great variety of feathers, variously dressed and wrought, as well as an immense weight of coffee of Mocha, and a prodigious variety of other merchandizes and drugs, as silks and calicoes, spices and gums, from the East Indies, which are yearly landed at the port of Suez, by thirty or forty vessels, and thence conveyed by the merchants of Kairo, who send them back again, laden with commodities of Europe and Egypt^c. These ships go no farther from Suez than to Gedda on the east of the Red Sea, near the city of Mecca, from whence they return laden with coffee, frankincense, and some Indian and Persian commodities, the richest and most valuable of them being brought to Kairo by the caravan. There is one misfortune that often attends them on that sea, which is, that they must set out from Gedda in the Hamseen season, that is, fifty days before the middle of May, when the south wind usually blows, and, if they chance to be too late, must wait another year; and when those winds fail them, are often forced to stay a whole twelvemonth in some sorry and inconvenient harbour^d.

Besides those ships already mentioned, there are others which bring the coffee from Fezaka, in Arabia Felix, among which there are five or six belonging to the English and French, continually employed in that branch. Five of those ships which come to Suez belong to the Grand Signor, and the rest to private merchants. Every bag of coffee weighs between three and four hundred pounds, and pays thirty medins when it comes from Pazaka (N). It must be observed, here, by the way, that though the exportation of coffee and rice out of the Turkish dominions is absolutely forbidden; yet is that prohibition easily eluded by suitable presents, so that great quantities of both are brought thence into Europe, in spite of that severe prohibition; and this is so much the more remarkable, with respect to the former, because it is not, like

Coin.

Coffee and
rice forbid
to be ex-
ported.

^c Malileet, Norden, & al.
cap. 1. & al. sup. citat.

^d Pococke, u 1 supra, lib. iii.

(N) A medin is a small piece of money about the bigness of a silver three-pence, and of the value of three of

our farthings, so that thirty of them amount to something less than two shillings.

the latter, which grows here in great plenty, a natural plant of this country, but is imported from Yemen, and other parts of Arabia and Africa. There have been frequent attempts made to reconcile it to the Egyptian soil and climate, but all to no purpose, though it thrives so well in Upper Ethiopia, from whence it is affirmed to have been originally transplanted into Arabia. The Abyssinians and Arabs make their infusion, not of the roasted berries, but the shells, or capsules, which inclose them, and esteem it much more reviving and delightful than that from the berry^e (O).

The chief imports are English, French, and Venetian cloths, silks from Leghorn and Venice, some drugs and dyes, tin from England, lead and marble blocks from Italy, great variety of small wares from France, Venice, and Constantinople, and from this last furs, and all sorts of copper vessels, and plates tinned over, which are much in use. All their iron is brought from Salonica in Turkish ships, to prevent its being exported out of the Turkish empire, which is likewise forbidden. Several of the Barbary woollen manufactures are likewise imported: carpets from Asia Minor, and great quantities of coral and amber, are also brought hither to be sent to Mecca, to be wrought into a variety of ornaments and other toys. There is likewise a considerable commerce between Upper and Lower Egypt, by which each supplies what the other wants. But all these put together come vastly short of what it was wont to be before the way to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope was found out, when it enjoyed a much greater share of it, by landing all Indian and Persian goods at Cossir, on the Red Sea, and bringing them by land to Kept, or Coptas, in four days, and

Imports.

Cause of its great decay.

^e Maillet, ubi supra.

(O) Our author adds, that the Arabs call the berry *bīan*, and when roasted, ground, or infused, they give it the name of *cabone*, or, as D'Herbelot writes it, *caboveh*; which is their general name for all potable liquors, though particularly for this, as the most esteemed and in vogue amongst them. From hence the name of coffee is not only passed into Europe, from the similitude of the aspiration *h* to our *gh* or *f*, but hath been indiscriminately given not only to the infusion, but to the berry and the plant (6).

(6) Maillet, ubi supra. See also D'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. sub voce Calvah.

thence conveying them to Alexandria, whence they were dispersed through all parts of Europe, by the Venetians and Florentines. This inland traffick, whether by caravans or upon the Nile, is moreover greatly obstructed by the wild Arabs, those especially who dwell on the mountains opposite to El Guzoo, a most dreadful sort of robbers, who plunder all that fall in their way, either by land or water; and, though not very numerous, and continually pursued in their inroads by the bey of Girge, yet prove too strong to be dislodged from their rocky habitations.

Some considerable branches still preserved.

Notwithstanding all these inconveniencies, and the loss of so considerable a branch, it is still found to carry on no inconsiderable share of that traffick; for though the Europeans have found out a much easier and expeditious way for their own, yet by that of Egypt all Turkey and Barbary are furnished with those Indian and Persian goods, by means of the navigation that is still kept up by the Turkish vessels from Surat to Mocha, and especially with Indian muslins, and other fine linens and silks.

Their commerce with Asia is still greater, carried on by the caravans, which come yearly hither laden with the richest commodities from thence. These are conveyed to Kairo by that branch of the Nile which falls into the Mediterranean, near the port of Damiata; which commerce consisting of constant and mutual imports and exports of the most valuable commodities to and from Mecca, and other parts of Arabia, Syria, and Palestine, must of course be still very considerable and advantageous.

Commerce with Europe.

We need not repeat here what hath been already observed of that which is carried on at Rosetto, on the other branch of the Nile, supplied with a vast quantity of goods from England, France, Germany, and other parts of Europe. But there is still another no less advantageous, though less reputable branch, carried on between that port and the cities of Constantinople, and Salatia in Anatolia, consisting of white and black slaves of both sexes, which are yearly sold or exchanged in prodigious numbers; the former brought hither from those two cities, and the latter sent hence to them. The greatest part of the latter, which one sees, whether males or females, not only in the seraglio, or in the city and suburbs, but also in all Turkey, being conveyed thither from Egypt. Both sorts are sold at a high price, but the whites, which are brought hither in exchange for the blacks, are set up at a higher

With Constantinople of white and black slaves.

Great price given for the former.

higher value, especially those that are young, handsome, and well-shaped^f.

Several caravans travel through dreadful barren deserts from Fez, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoly into Egypt, with great variety of the commodities of their own countries, and appear at Kairo in a most strange variety of dresses and complexions, some of which spend between seven and eight months in that journey. Among those numerous nations, there are two who have something curious and worth taking notice of in their way of traffick and behaviour; the one is that of the Croys (P), who bring thither gold dust, and exchange it for an equal weight of silver, with which they purchase copper vessels, cutlery work, and other trinkets, and in particular some sort of sea-shells, which pass current amongst them instead of coin.

Traffick with various African nations.

The other nation, whose name, country, and wares Maillet doth not mention, are still more singular in their way of commerce, they obstinately refusing to conclude a bargain with their chapmen, let them offer ever so fair and advantageous an exchange, till they have been soundly thrashed with a bull's pizzle; after which they are all compliance, and come immediately to an agreement.

A singular way of commerce.

Egypt preserves still one considerable branch by the way of the Nile, both with the great and opulent empire of Ethiopia, and other inland parts of Africa, which is no less considerable than those we have mentioned; consisting in gold dust, elephants teeth, ebony, and other commodities. For though the Abyssinians seldom trade so far out of their own country, yet they drive a large traffick in those commodities with the Nubians, whom they call Barbarians, and who transport them from thence into Egypt by their caravans, which chiefly consist of merchants, as they style themselves, though so poor and wretched, that the greater part of them, at their arrival at Kairo, appear all in rags, and some of them almost naked, and emaciated by the heats and fatigues of that

The several branches of trade to Kairo.

^f Maillet, Vansleb, Pococke, & al. sup. citat.

(P) They are said to be situated on the coast, over-against the island of Pheasants, in the Atlantic ocean, and are so affected with the bad air of Kairo, and the unfavoury smell of

the place, that they are usually taken notice of for their going along the streets with their mouths and noses muffled up, as in the time of pestilence.

long journey through rocky and barren deserts, in want of all the necessaries of life. There is scarce a year in which one or two of these caravans do not arrive at this metropolis richly laden, from these parts, not only with gold dust, musk, amber, and variety of rich gums, but some thousands of black slaves, which are sold in Egypt. These, as well as white slaves, brought hither from Turkey, are distributed into several large houses called octielli, belonging to that particular bazar, or market, the blacks on one side of the house, the whites on the other, where they are exposed to sale. There are several other bazars in Kairo, the two most considerable of which, next to that of the slaves, are the camilli, or mercers change, and the sahamin, which is that of the druggists; in which last are sold vast quantities of yellow amber, in large sacks and boxes. These are afterwards wrought into variety of trinkets, especially beads, which the Turks make use of tell the number of their prayers. Among the various drugs belonging to this bazar, which we have no room to enumerate, is the famous powder, or earth, called hannah, or al-hanna, in great vogue and esteem in all these eastern countries, which is made use of both by men and women, to paint their hands and feet; the revenue of which, we are told, amounts to eighteen thousand ducats ^g.

Vast traffic of the powder of Al-Hanna.

Exportation of horses forbidden.

Egyptians tenacious of their old customs.

There are here several markets for cattle, and in particular for horses, and a vast commerce might be made of them, could the Egyptians be prevailed upon to let them be exported out of the Turkish dominions; but that is what hath been often tried in vain, by the Europeans; neither merchants, nor even consuls, having been able to obtain leave to export one of them: even the basha himself is afraid to grant such a favour, though so highly bribed for it, for fear of causing an insurrection among the people. The truth is, they are so tenacious of their ancient customs, that it is with great difficulty they are brought to suffer any of their merchandizes to be exported into Europe. The Alexandrians rose up in arms at the first bale of coffee which was put on board for Marseilles ^h; though they have since been prevailed upon, by proper bribes, to wink at those vast quantities which are now exported in spite of the Porte's severe prohibitions. However, we do

^g Maillet, & al. ubi supra. La Croix Afric. part i. chap. 5. sect. 5.

^h Maillet, lett. 13.

not find that the like hath been attempted by any Europeans with respect to horses, which they will not suffer any Christians to ride on, except the consuls, either in this or any of the great cities in the Turkish dominions.

Christians not allowed to ride on horses.

We shall close this article with a short sketch of the caravan from Nubia to Kairo, which we have already had occasion to mention, on account of the wretched equipage of its merchants, and the richness of its cargo, consisting of the most valuable commodities of both Ethiopias, and other kingdoms of Africa. The traffic of this caravan, which now seldom fails of coming twice a year to Cairo, was formerly carried on, with great difficulty and danger, in barges, or flat-bottom boats, which in spite of its many and dreadful cataracts, used to sail or row up and down the Nile from Dangola to Kairo. At the cataracts, the merchandize was unloaded and carried by land, together with the boats, to a place above where the river was navigable; and this method was repeated till all the cataracts were surmounted.

The Nubian traffick at first by the Nile;

They have since found a safer and more expeditious way of conveying these merchandizes from one kingdom to another on camels by land; by which means they can come twice a year to Kairo, and return to Dangola, by crossing the Lybian Desert, by the way of Gari, a town situate on the Nile, about four days journey on this side of Dangola, where the merchants from Sannaar, the capital of Fungi or Fund, Gondar, capital of Upper Ethiopia, and many other trading cities of Africa, meet at a certain fixed time, with all their various goods, and form what is now called the Nubian caravan. And here, at their departure, they leave the banks of the Nile, and enter into the desert above mentioned, which takes them up thirteen days in crossing; after which they come into a spacious vale, about thirty leagues long, running almost from north to south, which is covered with palm-trees, and yields plenty of fresh-water, by digging about a foot deep into the ground; a stage no less comfortable and desired, after travelling through such a burning desert, than uncommon in most parts of Africa. Here they move on by slow journeys, to refresh themselves from their late fatigues, and to prepare themselves for traversing a new ridge of mountains, which run from north to south along the Nile, on the Libyan side, till they come to Montfaloot, a town of Upper Egypt, where they pay the first customs to Egypt, consisting of a certain number of black slaves, and when the caravan comes in sight of the Nile again, for the first time from their departure from Kairo. At Montfaloot they

but since by caravans.

Their route to Kairo.

they embark on that river, and sail down to Kairo, and on their return remount it to the same place, and then resume their old route homewards through the same ridge of mountains, delightful vale, and barren deserts; through the last of which they are forced to travel seven or eight days without meeting with any water; during which the camels must go without, or take up with a very scanty portion of it, and the people are forced to drink that which they bring with them, which is by that time become very unpleasant.

*Danger of
losing their
way.*

*Reject the
use of the
compass.*

But this is not the greatest inconveniency they are liable to in their thirteen days march through this desert; there is another still more frightful and dangerous, namely, the difficulty of steering their course right through those vast pathless sands; where they meet with neither mountain, tree, nor any thing to serve them for a land-mark to direct their guides. So that, if they decline ever so little from their right course, they are in danger of being all lost for want of water. They have been often advised to make use of a compass, which would in a great measure prevent such dangerous deviations, but they have as often rejected that counsel, though told that other African caravans had followed it to their no small satisfaction and advantage. These Nubians are either too stupid or conceited to be put out of their old way, and will run the risk of perishing in those dreadful deserts, or of being swallowed up alive by those clouds of sand, which we have elsewhere mentioned, rather than owe their safety to the advice of an European. Besides, as they are all either Mohammedans, or poor ignorant idolaters, the former adhere to their doctrine of predestination, and the latter to their images, charms, and other superstitious preservatives, more than to any human means, though ever so well founded and experienced.

Besides those rich merchandizes which the caravan brings into Kairo, the natives drive another traffick, which consists of a sort of light timber, or wood, which bears a great price there, and of a coarse sort of earthen ware, which they make in their country. These they venture to bring down to Kairo in large floats upon the Nile, at the time that its waters begin to rise, neither minding its rocks nor cataracts, which they descend without the least concern. The only danger they provide against is that of the crocodiles and sea-horses; to keep off which, they light fires, and keep a watch at night, and make a dreadful howling at proper intervals. If their floats chance to

ⁱ Maillet, ubi supra, lett. ult.

Strike so hard against a rock as to break the cords that tie them fast; they have no other chance for their lives than to stick close to one or other of the fragments, till they come to some place where the current runs smoother, and there endeavour to get them all together, and tie them closely again. As for their earthen vessels, if ever so many chance to break by that or any other accident, they make themselves amends by selling what is left so much the dearer, when they come to their journey's end. As soon as they find themselves drawing near to the last cataract, they shut their eyes, and stop their ears with their hands, to avoid being scared at the frightful sight and noise, and a few moments after find themselves shot away a mile below it ^k.

We have now specified all the material and curious particulars relating to the modern state of Egypt: there remains only that we resume the history of it from the epocha where we concluded its ancient part; namely, at the end of the Greek emperor's reign, when that prince's avarice and breach of faith obliged the Egyptians to exchange the Roman yoke, under which it had been reduced by Augustus into a Roman province, for that of the Saracen khalifs, under the kalifat of Omar, or Haumar, and the command of his successful general Amru Ebn Abaz. From this time Egypt continued in subjection to those sovereigns, and became a province of that now largely aggrandized empire, and under special governors appointed by them, of whom Amru, the general above mentioned, was the first; a subjection which, however heavy and displeasing to them at first, and whilst they were governed by those vicegerents, did, in a short time, raise that kingdom nearly to as great a height of glory and splendor as it had known under the Ptolemies, especially after that famed schism which broke out between the khalifs of Baghdad, in the year of the Hejra 286, and of the Christian æra 908, under Abu Mohammed Obeida'llah, the famed founder of the Fatemite dynasty in Africa, who set up a new khalifat at Kairwan, and took the title of Mohdi, or Al Mohdi, or *Director of the Faithful*, which, till that time, was peculiar to the Abassine khalifs, as we have seen in a former volume, which dynasty continued in his family during the space of two hundred and seventy-two lunar years, either at Kayrwan or in Egypt, where his successors

*Modern
history of
Egypt.*

*At first sub-
ject to the
khalifs of
Baghdad,
and after-
wards to
their own.*

^k Ubi supra, lett. 2.

The Fatemite dynasty by whom founded.

removed their residence, under a succession of fourteen princes, or khalifs, in the following order.

1. Abu-Mohammed Obeida'llah, or Mohdi. 2. Al Kay-em. 3. Al Mansur. 4. Moez Ledin'llah. 5. Aziz, or Al Aziz. 6. Al Hakem. 7. Dhaher. 8. Mostanser. 9. Mostali. 10. Amer, or Hamer. 11. Haffedh. 12. Dhaffer. 13. Faetz, or Al Faetz. 14. Hadhed, or Adhed. All these, from the fourth, took likewise the title of Ledin'llah from him, which signifies the *faith or religion of God*; but none of them were acknowledged by the Abassine khalifs, but rather branded with the title of schismatics, and nicknamed Obeides, from their founder, or Alides from their descent. Not that they own indeed that founder of their's to be descended from Ali, the son of Fatema, Mohammed's daughter, for that they utterly declare against; but call them so in derision, for presuming to claim such a noble descent. Their reigns, of which we have already given an account, are full of their mutual hostilities, and irreconcilable hatred; and one of them, khalif Al Kader, so highly resented their laying claim to it, that he published a most virulent manifesto against them, in which he scruples not to charge them with manifest falsehood and imposture.

Their early wealth and opulence.

Whatever effect the khalifs of Baghdad might promise to themselves by those hostilities, or even by publishing them in such a solemn manner, it is plain, it had no other on that of Egypt than to inspire him with a greater desire of outvying them in power, grandeur, wealth, and conquests. Accordingly we have seen the progress of these new khalifs in extending their power not only far beyond that part of Africa where they then resided, but even as far as Sicily; and the surprising strength, and stupendous works of the city of Mohdia, which their founder built, and called by his new name, are an ample evidence, though far from being the only one of their early power and opulence.

Splendid court at Kairo.

Neither have their successors proved less ambitious or less successful in enlarging their dominions, after they became masters of Egypt, and removed their court thither; and this removal it was that gave them an opportunity of raising it to such a height of magnificence, as the Arabic writers thought they could never sufficiently extol. Nothing could be more grand or sumptuous than their palaces, divan, seraglios, mosques, and other public edifices; nothing more superb, splendid, and numerous, than their ministers, retinue, and attendants; nothing more rich
or

or brilliant than their dresses and appearance, and the furniture of their apartments in the city, or their tents and other equipages in the field. Whatever successes they had in the latter, whatever conquests they made either in Syria, Palestine, or other provinces whither they led their victorious armies, were always celebrated with the utmost pomp and splendor.

Their custom was not to return to their capital without being met in a spacious plain, at some small distance from it, by all the grandees and officers of the kingdom, in the most splendid dresses and equipages; these being attended with a numerous retinue, not only of their relations, domestics, and dependents, but with crowds of other wealthy subjects, who came to be spectators of the noble cavalcade. All these took care to have the richest pavilions and tents ready dressed up for the khalif's reception, and, after his arrival, commonly spent three whole days at this brilliant encampment, with all manner of rejoicings, before he made his entrance into his metropolis. Nothing can be imagined more grand than the march and entry of this procession into the city, through roads covered with rich carpets, and other fine cloths, strewed over with flowers and other odoriferous plants and gums, and hedged on each side with crowds of his congratulating subjects; the streets through which he was to pass, being not only covered with the same rich carpets, but hung on both sides with the finest tapestry. The khalif, preceded by his guards and household officers, superbly mounted, and attended on each side with about a hundred pages on foot, in their richest attire, appeared on a stately horse, whose harness and accoutrements were enriched with jewels, pearls, and curious embroidery, himself arrayed with the utmost grandeur, and his turban sparkling with some precious stones of the greatest beauty and value. The first place in the city where he alighted was the head mosque, where he and his numerous attendants went to offer up their prayers and thanks for his safe return. From thence he was attended with the same pomp and ceremony to another no less sumptuous mosque, where were deposited the bodies of his ancestors, which Moez Ledin'illah, the first of the Fatemite race, who subdued Egypt, had caused to be brought thither from Kayrwan, and where he himself and his successors lay also interred. - From thence he was conducted to his palace, and filled it and the whole city with festivity and joy. From this specimen of their outward grandeur, one may see that they did not, like the Persian and other eastern

eastern monarchs, affect to be invisible to their subjects, but were rather delighted with every fit opportunity of shewing themselves to them in all their royal grandeur.

Grand apartments in the palace.

The same splendor and magnificence ran through all the edifices and apartments of the castle, as well as their furniture, and the number and splendid appearance of officers and attendants; but more especially the dewan, where the grand council sat; the halls of justice, where they often presided, and those in which they received ambassadors, were all built in a grand and august taste. They were spacious and lofty, divided somewhat like our cathedrals, into three or four ailes, adorned with stately cupolas, and supported by pillars of the richest marble, and most beautiful workmanship. At the farther end of the middle aile, facing the grand entrance into the hall,

Manner of standing in the presence.

was the khalif's seat, embellished with very costly materials, and curious work; on each side stood his prime ministers, more or less near his person, according to their rank and dignity, and in the most decent and humble posture, folding their arms across their breasts: but when they held a council, or court of justice, they were allowed to sit on cushions. The same order was observed by those nobles and officers who were seated in the other ailes; all of whom composed a numerous as well as brilliant assembly of several hundreds of the grandees of the kingdom, besides a much greater number of other officers, civil and military. The same solemn order was observed in the grand hall of justice, where the khalif often assisted; and next

Requests of the subjects, how presented.

to him sat the lord chief justice. The subjects, who had petitions to present, were admitted into the middle aile, near the bottom of which was ranged a balustrade, which kept them from going farther. Here they presented their requests, which were conveyed by proper officers to the lord chief justice, who read them aloud to the khalif, explained the nature of them to him, and answered all the questions he asked; then they proceeded to give judgment, in the dernier resort, this being the supreme court, from which there could be no appeal, but to which the inferior tribunals, both civil and military, might be appealed from; and here the appellant and respondent subjects had another opportunity of seeing their sovereign in the majestic pomp and grandeur of his court.

Great profusion at their tables.

Their opulence was no less conspicuous in their tables; not in the studied extravagance and luxury of their dishes, as in the vast variety and profusion of them, and the great number of persons who were daily and regularly fed by them,

them, amounting to several thousands of different ranks and qualities, from whom the fragments were afterwards distributed among a great number of poor families, and fed a still greater number of mouths. They were no less liberal and extensive in their other charities, particularly in founding and endowing mosques, monasteries, and hospitals. Having thus far prefaced the history and reigns of the Fatemite khalifs with a display of their wealth, power, and magnificence, and given, in a former chapter, an account of the reigns and conquests of the three first princes of that dynasty in Africa Propria, we shall now proceed to the history of the remaining eleven, who reigned in Egypt, from the first conquest of it by Moez Ledini'llah, to the abolition of that dynasty by the Mamluks.

Abu Temin Mahud, the son of Mohammed Al Mansur, and surnamed Moez Ledini'llah, the fourth African, and first Egyptian khalif of the Fatemite dynasty, began his reign in the year of the Hejra 341, and of Christ 953, and resided, like his three predecessors, in the cities of Kayrwan and Mohedia successively, till the year 358, at which time he sent his head general Jaawar Al Giauhar, a Greek renegado, who, for his extraordinary valour, had been raised by his father from the condition of a slave to some of the highest posts, and made chief commander of all his forces, upon his long intended invasion and conquest of Egypt, at the head of a powerful army. Jaawar met with little or no difficulty in reducing a kingdom at that time so little prepared against invasion: having penetrated as far as its capital, then called Fusthad, anciently Mezr, and Babylon, he made himself master of it, and presently after laid the foundations of a new city, to be for the future the residence of the khalif his master and his successors. It was at that time denominated Al Kahirah, but is better known to the Europeans by that of Kayro, or Grand Cairo. The conquest of the kingdom and the building of that city, were completed, according to the best Arabian chronologers, in less than four years, from Jaawar's first setting out upon that expedition.

The khalif Moez was no sooner informed of the success of his general, than he prepared, with all expedition, to go and take possession of his new conquest. He ordered all the immense quantity of gold which he and his predecessors had amassed, to be cast into ingots, and conveyed thither upon camels backs: to shew, moreover, that he was fully resolved to abandon his dominions in Barbary, and to make this new kingdom the seat of his residence,

The reign of Abu Temin Mahud.

Great success of his general.

Kairo, when, and by whom founded.

Moez transports his riches and the remains of his ancestors thither.

he

he caused likewise the remains of his three ancestors to be removed from the former to the latter, and to be deposited in a stately mosque, erected for that purpose in his new capital of Cairo; a most effectual motive to induce them to do the same, as it was become an established custom and duty among those princes, to pay their respectful visits to those sepulchres, not only on certain stated times among the Mohammedans by their Koran, but by his example on other public occasions, as that lately mentioned on their return from a successful expedition, and the like.

The next step of consequence which he took to confirm himself in his new khalifat, was to suppress the usual prayers made in the mosques for the Abasside khalifs, and to substitute his own name in their stead; which injunction, according to some Arabic writers, was complied with, not only in Egypt; but in Syria and Arabia, and even in the city of Medina, that of Mecca being the only place which refused to acknowledge him¹: but this was not till two years after the reduction of Egypt by his general, when he began to assume the title of Fatemite khalif, and successor of the family of Ali, in opposition to those of Baghdad, and ordered the following words to be added to the public prayer: "Long live Ali, all whose actions were truly laudable." From this time the schism between these khalifs and those of Baghdad began to be publicly known and avowed, and produced mutual wars and anathemas.

All this while Moez was strengthening himself in his new khalifat, without much regarding the excommunications and other public censures against him and his adherents, which were fulminated from the pontiff of Baghdad; or the libels which were published against his pretended lineal descent from the family of Ali (Q), but was taken up chiefly with his own secular affairs, especially the finishing of his new city of Kairo, which his general and wazir

¹ Ebn Shonah ap. D'Herbelot, p. 595.

(Q) We are even told that as he was one day reviewing his forces, he was boldly asked by some private man, what kindred and family he was of? to which he readily and unconcernedly answered, pointing to his troops, and to the sword, which he held in his hand, "Those are my family, and this my kindred (1)."

(1) Rab. Allakiar, ap. D'Herbelot, p. 595, et seq.

had begun under the horoscope of the planet Mars, called by the Arabs, Kaher, or Kaer, from whom it derived the name of Kaherah, vulgarly Cairo. He died in the forty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-first of his khalifat, of which he spent eighteen in his capital of Kayrwan, and the last three in Egypt. He ordered his body to be interred in the magnificent mosque at Al Kayro, which he had erected, and in which he had deposited the remains of his predecessors, in the year of the Hejra 365. He is reported to have been a prince of singular justice and moderation, and hath been highly celebrated by the famed Hani, a poet of Arabic extraction, though born in Spain, who had accompanied him in all his expeditions, and highly extolled his virtues and exploits in several poems; but, upon some discontent or ill treatment, he retracted all he had said in praise of him in a bitter satire ^m.

Death and character.

Moez was succeeded by his son Abu al Mansur Barar, surnamed Aziz Billah; who, being but twenty-one years of age at his accession, committed the whole conduct of the government to the noble Jawhar, or Jaafar, his father's long-experienced general and prime minister, and caused him to be proclaimed, not only through his African dominions, but even in those of the khalif of Baghdad. Aziz proved a prince of great humanity and generosity, and he was universally beloved by all his subjects. He married a Christian, by whom he had one daughter, in whose favour he created two of her uncles, the former patriarch of Jerusalem, and the other of Alexandria, both of them Melchites and orthodox. He was not, however, so successful in his war against Al Aftekin, emir of Damascus, against whom he sent his chief general Jawhar, at the head of an army; but, after a close siege of two months, he was obliged to make that shameful and disgraceful retreat, of which we have spoken in a former volume: nor did he prosper in his next expedition into Syria, and his siege of Aleppo, under his new general Manfabekin; which he was forced to raise at the approach of the Greeks, who were sent to its relief; nay, after he had gained a complete victory over them, he attempted the place with the same ill success, and thought fit at length to abandon it without the khalif's leave.

Aziz Billah, second khalif of Egypt, a favourite of the Christians.

Ill success in Syria.

Hejr. 381.

Neither came he off more honourably in his attempt to punish his new wazir, Yakub Ebn Yusef, and his brothers,

^m D'Herbelot, ubi supra.

*Strips and
imprisons
his wazir.*

*Forced to
release him.*

*Jawhar
dies in dis-
grace.*

Hejra 386.

*Khalif's
death.*

Character.

A. D. 996.

*Al Hakem
Beamr'il-
lah, third
khalif of
Egypt.*

*A dreadful
revolt
raised
against
him.*

for their avarice and cruel extortions, by which they had amassed immense wealth. He caused them, indeed, to be all seized, and each of them to be separately imprisoned, and their ill-gotten riches to be confiscated to his treasury; but this severity excited such an universal tumult through the whole city of Meſſr, that he was obliged to release them out of their confinement, and refund all the wealth, to prevent a general insurrection in their favour. In this year died the once successful and highly esteemed general Jawhar, to whom the Fatemites owed the conquest of Egypt, but in the sequel he had been stripped of the honours and riches he had so gloriously acquired, on account of his ill success and shameful disgrace in Syriaⁿ.

Al Aziz, notwithstanding the ill success he had met with in Syria, was still meditating a fresh expedition thither against the Greeks, who were possessed of the most considerable places, when he was suddenly snatched away by death, in the 386th year of the Hejra, being then forty-two years eight months and fourteen days old, and having reigned twenty-one years five months and seventeen days. We have already observed, that he is represented by the generality of the Moslem writers as a prince of a most excellent disposition, singular justice, lenity, and affection to his people; nevertheless, he was severely lampooned during his life, for his too highly favouring the Christians and Jews, and suffering them to insult and oppress his faithful Moslem subjects. He had actually one of the former, named Isa, for his secretary, and one of the latter for his treasurer, whose name was Manasseh, both whom he discarded, and stripped of all their wealth, in consequence of the complaints exhibited against them.

He was succeeded by his son Abu, alias Mansur, under the guardianship of one of his white eunuchs, named Arjuan Al Arghevan, a minister of great experience and approved integrity; to whom Aziz committed that important trust before his death, his son being then no more than eleven years old. We find nothing remarkable concerning the former part of his reign, till the year of the Hejra 396, the eleventh of his reign, when a strange insurrection happened in his dominions, under the conduct of an obscure water-carrier, of the city of Meſſr; though descended, or pretending to be descended, from Hesham Abd'al Malek, of the house of Ommiyah.

ⁿ Al Makin, Abul'fed.

He was chiefly known by the nick-name of Abu Rawak, or rather Butler, from his carrying his water about in bottles.

He began this dangerous enterprize, by preaching and crying aloud for a reformation of life and manners, both in the streets and highways, among the zealous Moslems; and, by a more than ordinary shew of sanctity, captivated such vast multitudes of them, that he saw himself, at length, at the head of a considerable army: he made himself master of all the Upper Egypt, whence, having defeated the troops that were sent against him, he led his own to the kingdom of Barka, which he as quickly reduced. Al Hakem had till now seemed to despise these forces, and their contemptible leader; but, at last, alarmed at their prodigious success, thought it high time to assemble his best troops from all parts of his dominions, even from Syria. These being sent against the insurgents, attacked them with such bravery, that they were all either cut in pieces, or put to flight, and their leader, who had by this time assumed the title of Al Nayr Beamri'llah, was brought prisoner to Mesr; where he was put to death by the khalif's order. His revolted followers were quickly dispersed, and an end was put to the insurrection, after several bloody battles fought on both sides^m.

Rebels defeated.

The next considerable event, during that khalifat, was the virulent manifesto issued out at Baghdad against the Egyptian khalifs, exposing their false pretensions to the Fatemite line. That politic pontiff had got it subscribed by a good number of the real descendants of the house of Ali, as well as by a much greater of kadis, and other eminent men in the law, in order to give the greater sanction to the contents of that declaration, and to explode more effectually the pretensions of the Egyptian khalifs to the Fatemite lineage. Hakem was horribly piqued at this manifesto, which had been artfully spread through his Syrian and Egyptian dominions, as well as those of the khalifat of Baghdad; but, as he knew he could not refute the greater part of its contents, he satisfied himself with issuing one of his own, full of invectives and bitter anathemas against the whole race of the Abbasside khalifs. He afterwards had the mortification to hear, that his favourite Kayed Abu Shajah, whom he had raised to the government of Aleppo, renounced his

A.D. 1015.

A severe manifesto against the Egyptian khalifs.

^m Al Makin, Abul'fed ubi supra.

dependence and subjection to him, and set up for emir of that metropolis.

Al Hakem runs mad, and fancies himself God.

Al Hakem, by what accident we are not told, at length, run quite mad, and issued out the most preposterous edicts; one, in particular, enjoining all the shops and houses in Al Kayro to be kept open and lighted, forbidding the women to stir abroad on any pretence, and decreeing that the hosiery and shoe-makers should make neither shoes nor hose for their use. He ordered also, that whatever other necessaries were brought for their use, should be reached in to them at the door half-opened, upon the end of a fork, or pallet; and the women were ordered to receive it from behind the door, unseen, their hands covered with their long sleeves. His madness grew to such a height, that he fancied himself a god; and insisting upon being addressed as such, ordered a long catalogue to be written of above sixteen thousand persons, who complied with his folly.

The Dararian sect acknowledge him as such.

These were mostly the Dararians, a new sect sprung up about this time, so called from their chief, one Mohammed Ebn Ishmael, surnamed Darari; who is supposed to have inspired the mad khalif with that impious conceit; and who, setting up for a second Moses, taught his followers, and openly affirmed Hakem to be the great creator of the universe; for which blasphemous impiety, a zealous Turk made no scruple to stab him in the khalif's chariot. His death was followed by the plundering and pulling down his house at Kairo, and the massacre of many of his wicked followers, during a three days uproar in that city; all which time the gates being shut up, the poor Turk was taken, condemned, and executed, by order of the khalif.

A.D. 1017.

Pilgrimage to Mecca suppressed.

This abominable sect, which had propagated itself from Persia, where it had its rise, quite through Syria, and Egypt, as being artfully calculated to strip Mohammedism of every thing that is disgusting to corrupt nature, and to introduce all kinds of licentiousness, did not expire with its author. Darari left a disciple behind him, named Hamza; who, encouraged by the insatuated Hakem, spread it far and wide through his dominions; so that there quickly followed a total abrogation of all the Mohammedan fasts, festivals, pilgrimages, the grand one to Mecca in particular, together with the usual yearly presents of tapestry from Kairo to Mohammed's tomb.

The Turks claimed for their religion.

These, and many other such insults and indignities, committed in this kingdom, and in his Syrian dominions,

to which that sect had spread its poison, justly alarmed the zealous Moslems, and made them apprehensive, that his design was to abolish Mohammedism, and introduce his own worship, with its licentious tenets, throughout his two kingdoms. They were, however, rid of all their fears soon after, by the unexpected murder of the khalif. The design had been some time hatching against him, between his own sister Setar Molcha, and the chief general of his troops. This last hired a man for that purpose, named Ebn Dawas; who, under pretence of the khalif's designing to cut him off, caused him to be assassinated, with his small retinue, on Mount al Molkatton, where he usually repaired with them every morning before day-light, to have, as he gave out, his private intercourses with Godⁿ.

A. D 1020.

*Al Hakem
assassinated.*

Thus fell the impious khalif, in the 411th year of the Hejra, the twenty-sixth of his reign, and the thirty-seventh of his age, unregretted by any, and abhorred by all his subjects; not only on account of his strange impieties, but of his frequent and mad sallies of tyranny and cruelty. Immediately after his death, which his sister kept concealed till she had privately made away with his murderers, she took upon her the reins of government, and caused his son to be proclaimed his successor, under the title of Thaher Ledini'llah.

Al Thaher was but seven years of age, when proclaimed khalif of Egypt and Syria; he was before called Abu'l Hafun Ben Ali, but was now saluted by the surname of Abu Al Thahur Leezar-dini'llah: his aunt took upon her the regency of the two kingdoms of Egypt and Syria, and, surviving her brother four years, died in the year of the Hejra 415. Al Thaher reigned after her decease eleven years; but so obscurely, that the Arabic writers have not left us any thing considerable concerning his reign; excepting what some of them say, in opposition to the rest, that he made the strictest enquiry after his father's assassins, as the most public and severe objects of his justice and resentment; whereas the others tell us, that his aunt caused them to be privately murdered before she declared openly the death of her brother. The former give it to us as one of the most shining parts of his khalifat, and the latter as a pregnant instance of his courage and policy. However that be, some of them add,

*Al Thaher,
fourth
Khalif of
Egypt.*

q Al Makin, Abul'fed. Renaud. ubi supra.

by way of panegyric, that he was a prudent and peaceable prince, and a lover of poetry. He reigned fifteen years and some months, and dying at Al Kairo, in the year of the Hejra 427, was succeeded by his son Abu Zamim Ma'bad, an infant, under seven years of age; who in time assumed the title of Al Mostanser Bi'llah, and enjoyed the khalifat sixty years, though not without sundry deep-laid conspiracies, which were formed against him during his long reign. These, however, he found means either to detect or defeat, by his extraordinary address and sagacity, and was, in other points, a prince of great moderation, and, by his mild government, gained the love of his subjects. He had, however, the mortification, in the third year of his khalifat, to see himself publicly disclaimed by Saleh Ebn Warshal, the emir of Harran, one of his vassals, who forbid him to be prayed for through all his dominions, and ordered the name of Al Kayem, khalif of Baghdad, to be substituted in his room °.

A.D. 1041. Another revolt happened in his Syrian dominions; whither he speedily sent a powerful army, under the command of Anush-Tekin or Anush-Takin, who quickly reduced those parts, and added some farther conquests to his dominions. But the most shining part of his reign was his assisting the revolted Al Bassasiri against Al Kayem, the khalif of Baghdad, both with troops and money; insomuch that Al Kayem was, at length, obliged to apply to Togrol Bek for assistance against that successful rebel. As we have given a full account of that transaction in the history of the khalifs, we shall refer our readers to it to avoid repetitions, and only observe here, as most pertinent to our history of the Egyptian khalifat, that Mostanser carried his success in that revolt, so as to cause himself to be proclaimed khalif of Baghdad, in that grand metropolis, and to be prayed for as such in the principal mosque in the 450th year of the Hejra. So that nothing less, in all probability, than the powerful interposition of the great Togrol in favour of Al Kayem, could have prevented his making himself master of his khalifat and dominions. How all these prospects and measures were defeated by that conqueror; in what manner the proud Bassasiri was defeated and slain, and Al Kayem restored in triumph to his capital, by the superior force of that generous prince, we have shewn in the proper

place; and from this æra we may date the gradual decline of the Egyptian khalif's glory. His disappointment, by the defeat and death of his chief instrument and assistant, was soon followed by the defection of the city of Aleppo, in favour of Mahmud Azzo'ddawla, the overthrow of that powerful army which he sent to reduce it, and the total loss of that important place, with its rich and considerable dependencies, and what was still much more deplorable, by the horrid ravages and butcheries which that tyrannic rebel committed, not only in that principality, but in all the adjacent provinces.

These dreadful disasters were followed by a most terrible famine, which raged with such fury, not only in Syria, but over all Egypt, in the year 459 of the Hejra, that cats and dogs were sold at the rate of four or five Egyptian dinars, and every kind of provision in proportion. Myriads of inhabitants died in Al Kairo for want of food; insomuch that the very wazir's domestics were so reduced by it, that he had but one servant left who was able to attend him to the khalif's palace, and to whom he gave the care of his horse at his alighting at the gate; but at his return found him, to his great surprize, carried off, killed, and eaten by three wretches almost perishing with hunger. He went back, and complained to Mostanser, who ordered them to be apprehended, and hanged on gibbets erected for that purpose; and to his much greater astonishment, he was told next morning, that another famished troop in that neighbourhood had torn the flesh off their carcases, and left nothing but the bare bones. To such a degree of misery were the people reduced by that time, that not only in his capital, but in many other cities and towns of Egypt, the carcases of those that died, either through want or distemper, were boiled, and the small remains of flesh publicly sold at a vast price.

A.D. 1066.

A grievous famine.

All this while the khalif had shewed the most exemplary instances of charity and generosity towards his subjects; but finding it all too little to supply the wants of such vast multitudes, he extended his beneficence to such a degree, that, of above ten thousand horses, camels, and mules, which he had in his stables, he had not above three horses left when that calamity was happily removed. He had, moreover, not only disposed of all the money, jewels, and other things of value, with which his predecessors had enriched the royal treasury; but had likewise parted with all the costly furniture of his palaces and seraglios, as well as the immense wealth which Bassafiri had brought away

Extreme misery of the people.

from those of the khalifs of Baghdad, at his taking and plundering that capital.

*Agrievous
pestilence.*

A most grievous pestilence that immediately followed the famine, helped to complete the misery of this unhappy kingdom; and its calamitous and desolate condition encouraged the lately revolted Abu Ali Al Hasan Nasr-

*Invaded by
the Turks.*

ddowla, to invade it at the head of his numerous Turks and Curds the very next year. He began with besieging the khalif in his own palace, who being then in no condition to oppose his progress, was constrained to buy himself off at the expence of all the valuables that were left in his exhausted treasury and capital. Yet did not that consideration hinder the merciless plunderers from ravaging all the Lower Egypt from Al Kairo quite down to Alexandria, and committing the most horrid cruelties through all that long tract, quite to the desert of Al Kolzon^p. In the two subsequent years there happened two very considerable revolts in his Syrian dominions; the first at Damascus, and the second at Aleppo; in which the revolted emir ordered the Fatemite khalifs to be suppressed through his dominions, and those of Baghdad to be substituted in their stead.

A.D. 1067,
1068.

*New re-
volts in
Syria.*

*The kha-
lif's poetic
taste.*

Towards the latter end of his life Mostanser committed the care and government of Egypt to his favourite minister, named Bedr Al Gemmal, an Armenian, who was his wazir-general, whilst the khalif had little more left than a nominal power. As he had a good taste for poetry, he seems to have employed his time in reading and composing some performances of that kind; one of which

A.D. 1095.

*His death.
Al Mosta'li,
sixth kha-
lif of E-
gypt,
ascends the
throne by
the wazir's
intrigues.*

Ebn Ahmed hath preserved. He died in the sixtieth year of his reign, and of the Hejra 487. He was succeeded by his son Abul Kasem, who, at his installation, took the surname of Al Mosta'li. This prince, though the youngest son of Al Mostanser, was raised to the khalifat by the intrigues of the old wazir, or, as others will have it, of the new one, surnamed Afdal, who had conceived a prejudice against the eldest, named Nezar, on account of some slight quarrel; the consequence whereof was, that Mosta'li having, by the interest of the prime minister, been proclaimed and acknowledged by all the grandees of the court and army, and by all the learned lawyers and judges, as lawful successor to the deceased, Nezar, his eldest brother, fled to Alexandria, with all his friends; and there maintained his title. The wazir, however, did

^p Al Makin, ubi supra, p. 376, & seq.

not suffer him to contest it with him, but marched speedily thither at the head of a powerful army; and having laid close siege to the place, soon obliged him to surrender it and himself prisoner. It was at first expected, from the nature of his crime, and the grudge which he bore to that prince, that he would have sent him in irons to his brother, to be put to death; yet whatever his motive might be, he freely gave him his life, and procured his pardon from the khalif. This clemency proved only a short reprieve, or rather the forerunner of a much severer punishment; for in a very little time Nezar was detected in a conspiracy for a fresh revolt, upon which he was put in irons, and condemned to be starved to death in a dungeon.

*Forgives
his revolt-
ed brother.
Puts him to
a cruel
death.*

The most remarkable transaction of this khalif's reign was the retaking the city of Jerusalem from the Franks or crusaders, in the year of the Hejra 492, and the immense plunder which Afdal, his general, brought from thence. He died in the eighth year of his reign, or, to speak more properly, he reigned seven years and two months. His death happened in the 495th year of the Hejra, and of the Christian æra 1101, his son and successor, named Abu Ali Al Mansur, being then but five years of age, who was nevertheless proclaimed and inaugurated immediately after his father's death, though too young to sit a horse on that occasion. His tender years probably encouraged his uncle, Abu Mansur Berar to attempt to dethrone him; to which end he hastened to Alexandria, which was then commanded by a slave of the prime wazir Afdal, named Aftekin, who, upon some specious promises, suffered him to be proclaimed khalif in that city. Al Afdal, who governed the kingdom during the minority of the young khalif, who had assumed the surname of Amer Beahcami'llah, was no sooner apprized of that revolt, than he hastened to besiege the two traitors in the castle of that place, and quickly obliged them to surrender at discretion. How he disposed of them afterwards we are not told; but Al Afdal returned victorious to Al Kairo, and continued to act under the young prince as his wazir, with such moderation and prudence, that he gained the affection and esteem of all the Egyptians, whilst the khalif, his master, enjoyed, through his means, a quiet and happy reign of thirty years. He was, however, justly censured by most historians of his time for his cruelty, craft, pride, debauchery, excessive love of

A.D. 1098.

*Takes Je-
rusalem
from the
Franks.
Amer
Beahca-
mi'llah,
seventh
khalif of
Egyp't.*

*His cha-
racter.*

A.D. 1126.

*Assassina-
tion.*

gaming, and more especially for his ingratitude to his prime minister, the noble Afdal. In other respects he is represented as a prince of no inconsiderable parts and learning, and master of an elegant style. He was, at length, murdered by a set of Batanists, or mercenary and resolute assassins, hired, as is justly supposed, for that end, by the malecontent grandees of his court or army, as he was returning from one of his usual walks. Thus fell that unhappy prince, unpitied and unregretted, the seventh khalif of Egypt, of the Fatemite race, and the tenth of the African khalifs, who had revolted from the Abasfides of Baghdad, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and thirtieth of his reign, and of the Hejra 524. He had no male issue, but was succeeded by his first cousin Abu'l Maimun Abd'al Majid, and grandson to Al Mostanser, who, with the khalifat, assumed the surname of Hasedh Bedini'llah, but was neither inaugurated nor acknowledged by the Egyptian states, till they were assured whether the deceased's widow, who was left pregnant, would be delivered of a male or female. They were determined, if it proved the former, to declare him the lawful successor to the throne, and to proscribe his uncle, in case he refused to acquiesce; but if he complied with their determination, he was to be appointed regent of the kingdom during his minority. Happily for him the widow was brought to bed of a daughter; upon which he was proclaimed and acknowledged khalif at Al Kairo, though not without some strenuous opposition from Abu Hamed, the then wazir, and one of the late Afdal's sons; who had been privately making all the interest he could amongst his father's creatures to be himself raised to that dignity, as he was then the chief commander of all the Egyptian forces.

*Hasedh,
eighth kha-
lif of E-
gypt.*

Hasedh was no sooner seated on the throne than he deposed him; and raised the noble Barham to that dignity; a person of great wisdom and merit, of noble extraction, and highly esteemed for his virtues; but he was quickly after obliged to remove him, and to substitute in his room an ambitious fellow, named Redwan Ebn Wahakshi; or Ebn Walahakshi, upon the following occasion: Bahram's administration was, in all respects, unexceptionable, excepting only that he favoured the Christians

↑ Al Makin, & al sup. citat. vide & al. Makrizi & D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. p. 108, sub voc Amer, & p. 634, sub voc. Mostarshief.

more, perhaps, than became a Moslem khalif's prime minister, and this was thought a sufficient pretext for the ambitious Redwan to attempt to get him deposed, and himself chosen in his place, by main force, if other means failed. In pursuance of which treacherous project, he easily stirred up some of the rigid Mohammedans to raise a loud clamour against him for his ill treatment of them, and the contempt he shewed to them upon all occasions, whilst he promoted none but Armenian Christians into some of the most considerable places of the diwan, and army, and other posts of state; insomuch, that many Moslems were induced to turn Christians for preferment. The discontent grew to such a height, as to cause a tumult in that metropolis, where a great body of them came to the very gates of the palace, armed with lances; to which copies of the Koran were affixed.

Here Bahram, who had the whole army at his command, might easily have crushed the revolters at once; but fearful lest the shedding of so much Mohammedan blood, in that capital, should increase the discontent, he chose rather to remove the scene of war farther off, and retire with his choicest Armenian troops into Upper Egypt, or Alsaid, where his brother Yafal was at that time governor of the city and province of Kuz, and leave his rival to pursue his ambitious views, since he found himself incapable of opposing him any longer. But here the traitor had been before-hand with him, and by his artful stratagems had so far incensed the Mohammedans of that canton, that they had cut his brother in pieces. After many indignities offered to his body, they had buried it in a dunghill, and shut the gates against Bahram; upon which the rest of Yafal's troops dispersed. Bahram, finding his affairs in some measure desperate, retreated into a monastery, and soon after took the monkish habit. Redwan, who by that time had forced himself into the wazirat, marched against him, at the head of his army, and soon after took him prisoner; but finding he had actually taken the habit, he spared his life and set him at liberty^s.

*Bahram
retires into
Egypt,*

*forces him-
self into the
wazirat.*

Nevertheless, he did not fail to wreak his rancour upon the Christians, especially those of Al Kairo, against which he led his army, destroyed the best part of that city, and gave up the houses, churches, and monasteries,

*Cruel treat-
ment of the
Christians
at Mejr.*

^s Abu'lfar. Al Makin, & al. sup. citat.

*Supreme
arrogance.*

to be plundered by his troops. He treated the Armenian monastery of that city with greater inhumanity. He ordered it to be reduced to ashes; and all the monks, not excepting the venerable patriarch, to be butchered without mercy. He extended his resentment still farther against them on his return from these expeditions, by which time he was grown too powerful to be controlled. By his own arbitrary will he excluded them from all considerable posts in the diwan, army, and state, obliged them to wear a particular garb, as a mark of distinction or reproach, and loaded both them and the Jews with exorbitant taxes. In a word, he acted with such despotic power, that the khalif, his master, whether out of adulation, or irony, bestowed on him the title of Al Melek Mefr, or the king of Egypt^t, which he made no scruple to assume from thenceforward.

A.D. 1141.

*Deposed
and confined
to the
khalif's palace.*

All this time, the Mohammedans triumphed under his protection, and failed not to retaliate, with interest, the pretended injuries and affronts they had suffered from the Christians, under the wazirat of Bahram. Their insolence grew at length so outrageous, that the Christians, unable to bear it any longer, began to take measures for their own safety. By degrees, they formed such a powerful party against him in Egypt, that he was forced to fly into Syria; where, having collected a strong body of Arabs, he marched back with them, and, on the first engagement he had with his opposers, obtained the victory; but being totally defeated on the next, was constrained to shelter himself from their fury, by taking sanctuary in the khalif's palace, who readily took him into his protection. But to avoid all future resentment from that quarter, on account of those churches he ordered to be destroyed, and the bishop and monks whom he caused to be massacred, that prince thought it highly convenient to strip the tyrannical minister of all his dignities and authority, and to confine him to his own palace for safety, but without suffering him to meddle any more with the affairs of government. He, moreover, restored to the Coptic church all its ancient liberties, revenues, and privileges (R).

*The Coptic
Christians
restored to
their
churches,
&c.*

Not

^t Ebn Shohnah, & al. ubi supra.

(R) We are farther told by pressing invitation to his late some Arabic writers, that H- worthy wazir to leave his mo- sedh condescended to send a nastery of Zacheri, and return to

Not long after this event, Hafedh was well nigh overreached by the rajah, or emir of Abyssinia; from whom he received a grand embassy, requesting him to order the Alexandrian patriarch to send him an additional number of bishops into his dominions, under pretence of promoting religion, and the interest of the patriarchal see of Alexandria; but, in reality, that he might shake off his dependence on it, and chuse one of his own, without being obliged to have them any longer from Egypt. The khalif, who suspected nothing of the design, was easily persuaded to grant the request, and signified his desire to Gabriel, the then patriarch, that he would comply with it; but, being better informed by him of the great injury it would prove to the Egyptian patriarchate, he absolutely refused the emir's request^u.

In the mean time, the seditious Redwan, being quite tired with his confinement and inactivity, though treated with singular kindness by the khalif, was contriving the means of making his escape. Having broke a hole in the wall of his apartment, he conveyed himself to Mefr, where he was again joined by multitudes of his blacks and other revolvers, and began to resume his former ravages; when, some discord arising among them, he was assassinated in the fray. From this time, the khalif took the reins of government into his own hands, and ruled without the assistance of a wazir.

One of his first cares was to repeal the several edicts which Redwan had issued against the Christians, and to restore those who had been turned out of their places in the diwan, army, and state; particularly Ebn Yunez, whose merit and interest soon drew in all the rest. Yet was that prince so easily imposed upon by the calumnies

*Redwan
breaks out
of his con-
finement,
and flies to
Mefr.*

A. D. 1148.

*Is murder-
ed by his
blacks.*

^u Renaud. Hist. Patriarch. p. 510, & seq.

to court, and resume his former post and government; and that he so far complied with it, as to abandon that convent, and spend the remainder of his days at court, where he could be ready to assist him with his counsels (which could not but be acceptable to the Christians); but absolutely refused the wazirat, and every other post that was offered to him. He lived accordingly in the palace, highly caressed by the court; and, at his death, was splendidly interred by the khalif in the metropolitan church of the Armenians (5).

(5) De his vide Al Makrizi.

and

and accusations, which some Samaritans raised against him, that he condemned both him and his brother to death in less than a year. He was, however, no less severe to their malicious accusers, when he came to be better informed. He also confirmed the election, which the Alexandrian church had made of Michael to succeed the deceased Gabriel in that patriarchate, and of John, the son of Abulfatali, about nine months after, whom they had likewise chosen; the same John, who had been poisoned by his monks, and lingered with a gradual decay full six months before he died^s.

A.D. 1154.
& seq.

A.D. 1159.
His death.
 We meet with nothing farther remarkable concerning this khalif's reign, during the two last years. He died in the year of the Hejra 544, and of his age seventy-seven; of which he reigned twenty years and five months^t.

Al Dhafer, ninth khalif of Egypt.
 He was succeeded by his son Abu Mansur Ishmael; who, immediately upon his inauguration, took the surname of Al Dhafer Beamrillah. One of the first considerable promotions he made, was that of one of his father's greatest favourites, named Nojmo'ddin Ebn Mesal, to the wazirat; which proved so displeasing to the emir, or governor of Alexandria, named Ali Ebn Selar, that he drew, with all speed, a body of troops out of the western provinces, and marched at their head directly to Al Kairo. Having driven Nojmo'ddin out of it, he obliged the young khalif, not then seventeen years old, to confirm him in the dignity of wazir in his stead. Nojmo'ddin, on his side, having put himself at the head of a large body of blacks, with a design to wrest the wazirat from him, a battle ensued; in which he (Nojmo'ddin) was slain, and his head cut off, and carried on the point of a lance through the streets of that metropolis. The new wazir did one public act soon after his advancement, in favour of the Christians, which, in all likelihood, procured him the surname of Al Adel, or the Just; how justly the reader will see by the sequel: he abolished all the marks of distinction and reproach, which they were obliged to wear by a former decree, whilst his real view was to draw a considerable sum of money from them, by way of acknowledgment for so signal a favour; but finding neither returns nor promises, or probability of any, he was not ashamed to revive the old edict. He had not en-

^s Renaud. ubi supra, p. 515, & seq.
 Khondem. D'Herbelot, & al.

^t Ebn Shohnah,

joyed the wazirat long, before he was deposed and murdered by Nafr, the son of Al Abbas, governor of Balbeis and its precinct; who, by his son's interest with the khalif, soon obtained the wazirat. These seem to have been the only disturbances that happened during his short reign, excepting that the crusaders took the city of Ascalon, in Syria, from him. Abbas Ebn Temim, alias, Abbas Al Sanhaji, who got the wazirat from Ali Ebn Selar, proved a monster of ingratitude, and, assassinated the young khalif, on account of some indecent familiarities which he had observed him to take with his son Nafr; which he justly feared would give an unhappy turn to the young man's mind. Some say, that it was Nafr himself that gave him the deadly blow, in revenge of his unnatural attempt. However that be, it was the common opinion, that the beautiful youth had so engrossed the khalif's affection, that he could not bear him one moment out of his sight; a circumstance which the father considered as an indignity that could not be atoned but by the khalif's blood: he therefore engaged his son in a scheme of vengeance, which was executed accordingly.

The wazir murdered by Nafr.

To effect their purpose with greater ease and secrecy, they invited the young khalif, and two of his intimate favourites, to an entertainment at their house; where, at a proper time, they dispatched them all three, and flung their bodies into a well. On the morrow, Al Abbas went, as usual, to the palace, which he found in some confusion on account of the young khalif's being missing; and, after several pretended enquiries after him, condemned two of his brothers, and a first cousin, to be put to death, as his murderers, and others of his friends and favourites, as their accomplices. He afterwards caused Al Dhafer's son, not five years old, to be brought out of the seraglio, and to be proclaimed khalif in his father's stead, under the title of Al Fazez, or, according to other manuscripts, Al Kayen Benafri'llah, and obliged all the nobles and grandees to swear allegiance to him. This mock pageantry of loyalty, however, could not prevent the young prince, now on the throne, from being struck with such horror and dread, at the sight of the bodies of his two uncles and other relations, whom the wazir had caused to be unjustly butchered, that he became, from that moment, a poor senseless idiot; beyond all possibility of being restored to the use of his reason,

Murdered by him and his father.

Abbas's cruelty to his two brothers, &c.

in

in any degree, notwithstanding all the various means that were used for his recovery.

*The ladies
sue for his
punishment.*

All this while, however, the wazir governed with such absolute sway, that he quickly became odious to, and suspected by, the whole court and army, of being the murderer of the late khalif; the very ladies of the seraglio and court interesting themselves, with an uncommon zeal, to have him and his son brought to trial and condign punishment (S).

*The general
of the army
stirred up
against
him.*

The clamour, at length, grew so loud and general, not only in that capital, but over the whole kingdom, that the Armenian general, who had the command of all the forces, was obliged, by the universal sollicitation of the grandees and officers of his army, to collect his forces towards the capital, in order to apprehend them; but, before that could be done, they had taken care to convey themselves, and all their wealth, into Syria, attended by a sufficient escort. We lately hinted, that the crusaders had taken the city of Ascalon: to these the late khalif's sister applied, by presents and vast promises, to cause those parricides to be apprehended; who immediately dispatched some strong detachments to intercept them in their way; one of which had the good fortune to surprize them. A bloody engagement ensued, in which the two assassins and their guard made a most desperate defence, till the wazir himself was slain, and his son taken prisoner: upon which their rich spoil fell into the hands of the Franks. Nafr was conducted, under a strong guard, to Al Kairo, and delivered up to the khalif's sister and the other ladies of the seraglio, to be punished at their discretion; that is, to undergo the greatest torture that their rage and resentment could inspire.

*Abbas flies
into Syria.*

*Is inter-
cepted and
slain.*

*His son
made pri-
soner.*

*Dreadful
execution.*

Accordingly, we are told, that princess caused his right hand to be crushed in the most terrible manner, whilst the other ladies tore the flesh off his bones with hot pincers, and, as some add, ate it before his face. They then ordered him to be fixed to a high gibbet, and exposed in that condition till he was dead, when his body was burned to ashes.

γ Al Makin, Abu'lfed. Abu'lfar. Renaud. & al. sup. citat.

(S) We are told, that they even cut off locks of their own hair, and sent them hanging upon spears, in token of grief, to Taloy Ebn Zarik, the head

general of the army, intreating him, in the most pathetic terms, to see the death of the late khalif revenged on his assassins.

Talay, the Armenian general, was raised to the wazirat *Talay* by the new khalif Al Fayer; who made it one of his first *raised to* cares to enquire after the body of the deceased khalif; of *the wazir-* which he easily procured intelligence, by means of one of *rat.* the late Al Abbas's servants and confederates, who directed them to the well into which it had been thrown, with those of his other two favourites. This discovery was followed by the interment of that unhappy prince; which was performed with the utmost pomp and grandeur: after which, we are told, the new wazir assumed the surname of Al Malek Al Seleh, that is, *the King and Lord*. He did but too truly make good that title, by the exactions and other cruelties he committed under the young khalif, and soon became odious, not only to the Christians, but much more to the Mohammedans, over whom he domineered in a manner they could by no means brook from an Armenian, although his being such did not hinder him from exercising the greatest severities against the Christians and Jews: whether it were to extort the greater sums from them, or to palliate his haughty treatment of the Moslems; for he not only revived all the old edict against the two former, of wearing on their turbans, and upper garments, sundry marks of distinction and infamy; but caused them to be observed with greater severity, and had always his ears open to any accusation brought against them; in consequence of which, whether true or false, he seldom failed to punish them. So that we meet with little else, during this interregnum, as it may well be styled, seeing the young khalif was not only a minor, but continued still bereaved of his reason to his death; which happened in the 555th year of the Hejra, the sixth of his khalifat, and eleventh of his age.

Al Sayez dies.

He was succeeded by Abd'allah Ebn Yusef Ebn Hafedh, *Al Aded* who took upon him the title of Al Aded Ledini'llah; to *Ledini'llah,* which he added the prenomens of Abu Mohammed. *tenth khalif*

Al Aded, the tenth and last khalif, had not sat long on the throne, before the wazir Al Zaley Ebn Zari was, for many extortions and cruelties, assassinated at Al Kairo, as he entered the khalif's palace, by a set of ruffians, supposed to be hired by Al Aded's aunt. He did not, however, die upon the spot, but was conveyed to his own house; whence he dispatched a messenger to Al Aded, to upbraid him with being the author of his death. The khalif, who, in all probability, was innocent of the fact, not only exculpated himself by the most solemn oaths and protestations, but delivered up to him his aunt; who, by this time

of Egypt.
The wazir
assassinated.

*His death
revenged.*

His character.

time, had been discovered to be the contriver and director of his assassination, and whom, in the height of his resentment, he immediately caused to be beheaded in his presence. After which execution, he lived but just long enough to obtain the reversion of the wazîrat for his son. He is, by the Arabic writers, allowed to have been a man extremely well versed not only in the military art, but to have been likewise an excellent poet, and the author of several curious performances in that kind; some of which are still extant^z. But his pride, avarice, and other cruel exactions, so tarnished his good qualities, that he was universally hated, and died unpitied and unregretted, in spite of the pompous title he had assumed of Malek Adel, or *Just King*^a.

A.D. 1161.

*Shawer's
complaint
to the wazîr.*

His son, named Zarik, or Razic, and, by Ebn Shohnah, Arzik. upon his accession to the throne assumed, in imitation of his father, the title of Al Malek Al Adej, *just king*; but presently after gave such an instance of his injustice and partiality, as was like to have caused great disturbance in the kingdom, but, in the end, proved only fatal to himself. An eunuch and officer of some consequence, named Shower, who had been promoted by the late wazîr his father, having complained of some ill treatment from a son of his sister, named Hazan, met with no other redress than a repulse. Hazan, the more to mortify him, sent him a present of a box, in which was inclosed one of those leathern scourges with which the slaves are usually punished; giving him to understand, that his persisting in his complaint would only draw greater injuries upon him. Shower, finding he had every thing to fear from a rash and haughty youth, upheld by such a wazîr, soon withdrew from Al Kairo highly dissatisfied, and retired with his friends and adherents to the deserts of Lovokal and Alcoah; from thence he repaired to the lake or pool of Alexandria; by which time he had assembled such a number of forces, as to be able to bid defiance to the wazîr. He accordingly maintained his post and station, in spite of those which that minister sent against him. As he advanced farther to Belkinah, Mahalet, and other neighbouring villages, he was joined by vast numbers of Arabs and soldiers, who flocked to him from all the western parts of Egypt, and especially from the several deserts adjacent, insomuch that he quickly saw himself at the head of a powerful army of ten thousand horse, all expert plunder-

*Severe re-
venge.*

^z Al Makin, & al. supra citat.

^a Ebn Shohnah, ubi supra.

ers. With these he marched directly into the lands and territories of the wazîr, where he committed the most dreadful ravages, without opposition; and, advancing still farther towards Al Kairo, threatened that city and court with fire and sword.

All this while, the alarmed wazîr had been so far from taking any proper measures for suppressing him, that he thought on nothing but of saving himself and family, and conveying all his vast wealth into some place of security. The new khalif and his court, no less alarmed at the progress and fatal success of the one, than at the cowardly flight of the other (T), were in the utmost consternation; and, to prevent any farther ill consequences from the discontented Shower, had recourse to a happy expedient, and effectually pacified him, by raising him to the wazîrat in the room of the fugitive Arzik. This last fell into the hands of one of Shower's flying detachments of Arabs; who stripped him of all his immense treasure, and sent him naked, and in irons, to the new wazîr. Others say they left him naked in a desert, where he must unavoidably have perished with hunger and cold, had he not been timely discovered by one of the Arabian cheyks, who ordered him to be conveyed under a strong guard to Al Kairo.

A D. 1162.

The wazîr's shameful flight. Shower raised to the wazîrat.

Arzik robbed, and sent prisoner to Al Kairo.

Here, to his great surprize, as well as confusion, he found a friendly asylum where he had least reason to expect it, even from the much injured Shower; who received him with all the marks of generous pity and concern, and appointed him an apartment in his palace, where he ordered him to be treated in the kindest manner. Yet did not all this undeserved kindness and generosity prevent that ungrateful guest from plotting daily the blackest treason against his benefactor. He privately attempted to excite the Egyptian emirs to some new revolt, whilst his noble

Friendly treated by the new wazîr.

His ingratitude and death.

(T) His flight, we are told, was no less private than shameful; for, having converted all his treasure and valuables into jewels, he put them into two purses or small bags, and threw them across his horse, under his saddle, and rode away with them in an ordinary disguise, and with the utmost precipita-

tion, into the desert, without daring to trust a single person to attend him, or to make any one privy to his flight (4).

We are moreover told, that the wealth, which he thus carried off, amounted to an equivalent to the annual revenue of Egypt.

(1) Al Makin, Abu'lfed. Abu'lfar. Makrizi, et al. sup. citat. host,

host, unsuspicious of such black treason, treated him more like an intimate friend than a guilty prisoner, often invited him to his table, and scrupled not to consult him about the most important matters of state. An attempt, at length, which that perfidious wretch made to escape, first alarmed the suspicion of the wazir's son Tay, who, upon farther enquiry, unravelled such a black series of treasonable practices, that, in the height of his fury and resentment, he went directly to his apartment, unknown to his father, and struck off his head at one blow, with his scymetar, and then laid open all his guilt and ingratitude to the whole court. His father expressed great sorrow at his death, and dissatisfaction at his son's perpetrating such a deed without his knowledge^b.

Dargan opposes the wazir, and defeats him.

The wazir had not been long rid of that private enemy, before a fresh and open antagonist started up, and in the end, proved fatal, not only to him, but to the whole kingdom, and Fatemite dynasty. This was one of the chief officers of the army, named Al Dargan; who in order to wrest the wazirat from him, raised an army, and defeated him after a bloody engagement, in which he slew his son Tay, and forced him to leave Al Kairo. He fled for refuge into Syria, where he craved the protection of Nuro'ddin, the Atabek emir of Damascus, promising him the third part of the annual revenue of Egypt if he would assist him with his whole force to recover the wazirat from his competitor, who, by that time, had seized upon it by main force. Nuro'ddin, who was a sworn enemy to the Christians, easily listened to his proposals, and granted him all the assistance he could spare; but Dargan was by that time become too powerful to be easily dispossessed of his dignity. He had, moreover, raised his two brothers to the most considerable posts under him, giving to one the title of Al Molhem Al Adel, and to the other that of Al Nafr Mostemim, whilst he himself assumed that of Al Malek Al Afdal. Many others of his own friends and creatures he likewise promoted to high posts, to strengthen his interest; whilst, to lessen or rather ruin that of his competitor, he had caused a very great number of brave officers in his interest to be put to death. All which violent measures so weakened that kingdom, and the strength of that government, that it occasioned his loss of it, as well as the decline of the Fatemite power in it, by the en-

^b Al Makin, Abu'lfed, Abul'far. Al Makrisi, Ebn Shohnah, Renaud. Hist. Patriar. p. 522, & seq.

couragement it gave to the Christians to attempt the conquest of that opulent country.

These last had actually by this time, made some considerable progress in it, which proved a most powerful motive to Nuro'ddin to assist his refuged wazir in good earnest, whom he had hitherto only amused with fair promises, in the recovery of the wazirat. He accordingly furnished him with a powerful body of his troops, under the command of Afado'ddin, surnamed Shairacuh, to drive them and his competitor Dargan out of that kingdom. With this reinforcement Shawer quickly reached the Egyptian frontiers, and penetrated into that country, without opposition from any but Dargan, whom he engaged and defeated near the sepulchre of St. Naphisa, by which victory, he recovered the possession of his wazirat. He was, however, so far from performing his engagements to Nuro'ddin, and reimbursing him all the expence he had been at in this expedition, that, after sundry illusory delays, he positively refused to pay any thing towards them: a return no less impolitic than ungrateful and unjust, which Afado'ddin so highly resented, that he immediately turned his arms against him, and seized on Sharkiah, Pelusium, and other districts, by way of reprisal. Shawer, who, on the other hand, was in no condition to obstruct his progress, whilst the Franks were all the while making new conquests in other parts of Egypt, fell upon the most effectual expedient to ruin his own affairs and that kingdom. He engaged in a treaty with the latter, upon some conditions, by which they furnished him with a reinforcement sufficient to inclose Afado'ddin on every side; so that he must of course have been obliged to surrender, or to perish with his whole army, through famine, had not Nuro'ddin seasonably interposed for his relief.

This prince, who had lately gained some great advantages over the Franks in Syria, as well as over the revolted Dargan and his brother, whom he had defeated and put to the sword, was no sooner apprised of his general's distress, and of Shawer's treachery and ingratitude, than he entered into a treaty with him; by which he obliged them to withdraw the forces they had lent him, whereby Afado'ddin obtained free egress out of that province, in which he had been kept confined near three months, and retired into Syria without opposition ^c.

A.D. 1163.

*Defeated
by Nuro'd-
din.**Forced to
let him re-
tire.*

^c Abu'lfed. & al. sup. citat.

*Al Malek
deprives
Shawer of
his govern-
ment,*

Shawer had still one competitor to drive from the wazirat, namely, Al Malek Al Adel, the son of Saleh Al Talay Ebn Zaric. This last, who had likewise seized on that dignity during these contests, had conceived such high notions of Shawer, and placed such confidence in him, that he had entrusted him with the government of Al Said, or Upper Egypt, a post of the highest power and interest next to that of the wazir; and had, moreover, at his death, strictly charged his son Al Malek Al Adel never to remove him from that post, as the surest means to preserve his own unmolested by him. The rash youth, disregarding his father's counsel and injunction, was no sooner in possession of the wazirat, than he sent him express orders to retire out of Al Said; which was, in plain terms, declaring him deposed from his government. Shawer was forced to comply, and accordingly retired, but with a full resolution to wrest the wazirat out of his hands. To that end, he assembled all the forces he had in that government, and marched directly to Al Kairo, whence he soon drove his competitor. He got possession of his dignity, immense treasure, and not long after of his person, and put him to death.

A.D. 1164.

*Al Malek's
death.*

By this time Shawer had reduced all his competitors, and became so rich and powerful by the spoil of the house of Talay Ebn Zaric, that he enjoyed the wazirat without opposition or control (T). He had, however, just cause to dread the resentment of the great and powerful Nuro'ddin, who by this time had subdued the greatest part of Syria and Mesopotamia, and who being a virtuous prince, could not but be highly exasperated at his ingratitude and perfidy, in refusing to perform his engagements to him, as well as for the indignity he had offered his general Afado'ddin. Accordingly we are told, that he had dispatched this officer back into Egypt, at the head of a sufficient force, to oblige him to pay him the arrears of the annual revenue, and the expences of his late expedition, which he effectually did

(T) All this while, we read nothing of the khalif Al Aded, who, under all the wars and contests which we have mentioned since the beginning of his reign, appears to have stood neuter, and altogether inactive; from which we may conclude,

that the Egyptian wazirs were, by this time, become so powerful and despotic, that they had, in a great measure, stripped the khalifs of their civil power, and left them only the shadow of a spiritual dignity.

soon

soon after; for Shawer, being apprised of his approach, had taken care to prevent his committing any hostilities, by timely complying with his demands^d.

He had not left Egypt long before Shawer gave Nuro'ddin fresh occasion to send him back. That martial prince had driven the Franks out of all his Syrian conquests, and they had now but few places of any strength in that kingdom: however, that success did not prevent his being extremely anxious at their progress in Egypt, much more, when he was informed of the treaty that wazir had lately concluded with them, which, as he rightly apprehended, might pave the way to their conquering that whole kingdom; as it soon after did, to the ruin of the wazir's affairs in Egypt, and of his allies. This unlucky treaty, concluded in the 562d year of the Hejra, seems to have been contrived by that ambitious wazir, for no other end than to enable him to disengage himself from paying to Nuro'ddin the third part of the yearly Egyptian revenue, which he had bound himself to pay to him by the former contract, and was of course another motive, equally cogent, to punish his complicated treachery by a fresh invasion. Accordingly, Asado'ddin, or, as he is commonly called, Shairacuh, was speedily dispatched thither, at the head of a powerful army, accompanied by his nephew Salaha'ddin Ebn Ayub, though against his will, and entered Egypt without opposition. He soon made himself master of the canton of Al Yizza, with little or no loss; and Shawer was obliged to have recourse to the Franks for a fresh reinforcement. Upon its arrival, he engaged the enemy with the greatest bravery, and was totally defeated with his confederates.

Alies with the Franks.

A.D. 1166.

Egypt invaded by Nuro'ddin.

Shawer totally defeated.

Concludes a treaty with the wazir.

This proved a deadly blow to the wazir and his allies, as it opened a way to the reduction of the important port of Alexandria, which he went and laid close siege to presently after, and, without great difficulty or loss, made himself master of it. From thence he led his forces towards Upper Egypt, leaving the command of the place to his nephew Salaha'ddin, with a strong garrison, but was soon forced to return to its relief, the Franks having invested it again after his departure, and keeping Salaha'ddin closely besieged during the space of three months. He marched back with all possible diligence, in order to raise the siege; but instead of executing that design, he was prevailed upon, by what pretended motive we are not

^d Renaud. ubi supra, & al. sup. citat.

told, to subscribe a treaty with them, by which he again resigned all his conquests, and agreed to withdraw his forces out of Egypt, in consideration of a stipulated sum, over and above the defraying the expences of the expedition. Shairacuh accordingly evacuated the place, and retired with his rich booty into Syria, but with his army so weakened by fatigue and sickness, that we may probably conjecture that to be the chief reason which induced him to return so soon to Damascus^e.

A.D. 1167.

*Shawer's
new alli-
ance with
the Franks.*

The Syrians were no sooner retired out of Egypt than the treacherous wazir entered into a fresh treaty with the Franks against Nuro'ddin, the purport of which was to invade him in his own dominions, as he was at that time engaged in quelling some revolters, which would effectually prevent his sending any more forces into Egypt. This treaty so alarmed and exasperated the Syrian emir, that it made him resolve to suspend for a time his conquests, and to bend his whole strength in the reduction of that kingdom, and the punishment of its wazir. Accordingly, the very next year, he sent a powerful army thither, under the command of Fakhro'ddin Mas'ud, to lay siege to the famed castle of Ya'bar, a fortress of such strength, that he spent a considerable time against it without making any remarkable progress, though he had since received a large reinforcement from Syria; so that he was at length forced to exchange it with Shahabo'ddin Malek for the city of Sarif and its dependencies, and some other places, together with the sum of twenty thousand dinars.

*Ya'bar
castle be-
sieved.*

*Ceded to
Nuro'ddin.*

*Success of
the Franks
in Egypt.*

*Ravages
and cruel-
ties.*

Nuro'ddin having got that important place into his hands, bent his whole force against the Franks, who had by that time reduced Balbeis, or Pelusium, and made a considerable progress both in that kingdom and elsewhere, through the divisions which then reigned among the Mohammedan princes; so that not only at Pelusium, but every other place they became masters of, they put almost all to the sword, citizens as well as soldiers, Christians as well as Mohammedans, selling for slaves such as they made prisoners, and giving up every place they took to be plundered by their soldiery^f.

From Balbeis they had taken their march directly to Al Kairo, which was then in no condition of defence, and

^e Abu'lfeda, & al. sup. citat. Ebn Shed. in Vit. Salad. his, vid. Renaudot, ubi supra, p. 532. & seq. & auct. ib. citat.

^f De

in the utmost confusion, through the disturbances and divisions that raged in it; wherefore Shawer, as soon as he heard of their approach, caused the ancient city of Mefr to be set on fire, and the inhabitants of it to retire to Al Kairo, to prevent the enemy seizing on that ancient quarter. He had moreover prevailed on the khalif to apply to Nuro'ddin, in the most pressing terms, and to let him know the imminent danger he and his kingdom were in of falling into the hands of the Christians, if not timely assisted by a powerful reinforcement of his Syrian troops. This was, it may be supposed, a most pleasing, as well as seasonable request to that prince, as it gave him the fairest opportunity he could wish of completing his two-fold design, the conquest of Egypt, and the expulsion of the Franks, for which he had already raised an army of sixty thousand horse, under the command of his general Afado'ddin.

He therefore gladly sent him orders to move with all possible speed towards that kingdom, and to attack the Franks wherever he found them. These had by this time reached Al Kairo, and had so closely besieged it, that it doth not appear that either the khalif or his wazir knew any thing of the Moslem army's hastening to the relief of the place; so that the wazir, finding it impossible to hold out long against the besiegers, had recourse to his old subterfuge of treaties and promises, and by means of a hundred thousand dinars, which he sent to them, and an engagement to pay nine hundred thousand more as soon as they had raised the siege, he gained his end, and prevailed upon them to retire; though it is much more probable, that the approach of Afado'ddin, was the true motive which made them so readily abandon the place, and retire with such speed with their booty, without staying for the performance of the other part of the engagement ^s.

However that be, Afado'ddin, at the head of his Moslem army, advanced by forced marches towards that capital, and was received every where by the Mohammedans as a saviour and deliverer. At his arrival, he was invited to the royal palace, with the greatest marks of honour and gratitude, by the khalif Al Adel, who, upon their first conference, amongst other rich acknowledgments for his timely relief, presented that general with a sumptuous royal kaftan, or vest. He was no less munificent to his

^s Abu'lfed. sub ann.

nephew Salaha'ddin, who had also accompanied him in this expedition, and to all the other chief officers of his army. The faithless wazir likewise, conscious of his breach of former engagements, was no less diligent in his daily attendance on him. Endeavouring to excuse his former non-performance, he failed not to express the highest regard and esteem not only for him and his nephew, but likewise for all the other commanders; telling him how highly he should think himself honoured, could he be but permitted to invite him and them to an entertainment he had taken the liberty to prepare at his own palace, and gratify him likewise with some marks of his high esteem. The traitor intended them no better entertainment than that of seizing upon their persons, as soon as he had them in his power. His plot however was not conducted with such secrecy, but that the Syrian general had some hint given him of it; upon which he ordered his nephew Salaha'ddin, and another of his chief officers, to seize upon him; which they accordingly did, under pretence of conducting him to his uncle, then upon a visit to the tomb of some Moslem saint without the city. Shower's retinue betook themselves to flight, and left him to be conducted to Shairacuh, who ordered him to be closely confined under a proper guard. No sooner was the khalif informed of his wazir's confinement and treachery than he dispatched one of his ministers to the Syrian general, not only to disculpate himself from the suspicion of being privy to his treason, but to demand of him the traitor's head; which was immediately cut off, and sent to him on the point of a lance, through the streets of the city, attended with a suitable escort; in return for which the general was forthwith invested by that pontiff with the robe of honour and other insignia of the wazirat, and saluted with the title of Al Malec Al Mansûr, or, the *King and Conqueror*. The khalif moreover ordered an instrument to be drawn up in form, whereby he constituted him his wazir, and dictated himself the contents of it, which are still extant, as preserved by Abu'lfeida, and by which he was put in possession of the late Shower's palace.

With this investiture and insignia the new wazir Shairacuh made his grand entry into that metropolis; but neither these, nor the insignia of his dignity, could protect him from being attacked with great vehemence and fury, both by the soldiery and populace, as he rode through the streets of the city, in his way to the late wazir's palace;

lace; infomuch, that he found no better way to prevent their insults, than by crying out, the khalif hath granted to you all the immense wealth and treasure which Shawer had been hoarding up during his wazirat. Upon which they all left him, and ran to the palace, which they quickly stripped of every thing of value. After this stratagem he found no farther obstruction; but, on the contrary, the greatest acclamations of joy, at his being so justly advanced to that important post, which were soon followed by congratulations in prose and verse, in which some of the brightest geniuses strove who should produce the noblest encomiums. His government proved, however, but short; for he died, as some say, of a debauch, two months and five days after his installation.

His nephew Salaha'ddin, who succeeded him in the wazirat, and soon after ascended the Egyptian throne, signalized himself by his virtues, victories, and conquests, in a manner becoming the founder of a new dynasty, and the abolisher of the Fatemite khalifat. He is justly celebrated as one of the greatest heroes of that age, as we have had occasion to shew in a former part of this work, relating to his wars and successful victories against the famed Christian crusade, and which, for that reason, we shall no farther recapitulate than is necessary to connect all the parts of his glorious reign, which are intermixed with other transactions, referring our readers, upon every such occasion, to those volumes where these facts are fully related.

Salaha'ddin's extract and character.

Salaha'ddin, commonly called by the Greek and Latin writers, Saladin, and originally Yusef Ebn Ayub, or, the Son of Ayub, the brother of the late Afafo'ddin, or Shairacuh, was the youngest of all the emirs, or grandees, who aspired to the wazirat, but who had already given some signal proofs of his valour and conduct, at the siege of Alexandria, which he sustained, during three months, against the united forces of the Franks, as hath been lately hinted. What determined the khalif to give him the preference to all his other competitors, whether a regard to his merit and bravery, or the fear of his resentment, we do not pretend to determine. Whatever his motives were, it is certain that some of them were highly dissatisfied with his nomination, and made no scruple to declare publicly, that they would neither receive nor obey his orders. However, as these were but few in number, in comparison of those whom his address and generosity had already gained by the timely distribution of a great

Preferred to the wazirat.

His address and generosity.

part of his uncle's vast treasures, in presents amongst them, those malcontents soon found cause to be ashamed of their opposition, whilst he became daily more and more the darling of the court and army, and the khalif himself honoured him with the title of Al Malec Al Nafer, or, *the King and Defender*^b.

*His prudent
conduct to-
wards
Nuro'ddin.*

All this while the young wazir governed the realm without control. He had, soon after his installation, given a total defeat to the Negroes who guarded the royal palace; and cut off the greatest part of them, together with their leader, who had opposed his election; by which means, and a strong garrison he had placed in the castle of Al Kairo, he attained the summit of power; yet, as he had left Nofomo'ddin Ayub, his father, and the rest of his family, at Damascus, he was no less careful to avoid giving Nuro'ddin, the least grounds of jealousy, and in every thing behaved as his general rather than as wazir of Egypt, till he had obtained his permission to bring them to Al Kairo, where they might be nearer to him, and partake of his grandeur and happiness. His request was of too tender and interesting a nature, not to be complied with by that politic prince, who could easily foresee the dangerous effects of a denial, and consequently made no difficulty to consent to their departure, though upon condition that they should submit no farther to Salaha'ddin than as to the general of his forces in Egypt. The same precaution did that wise prince take in all dispatches to him, which usually ran in the plural number, and in terms to this effect: Nuro'ddin, &c. to the emirs Al Esfahelar, Salaha'ddin, and other emirs in Egypt, our will and command to you is, &c. Thus far was the harmony between those two great persons preserved. Salaha'ddin received his father and all the Ayuban family with great joy, and with all the magnificence of an Egyptian wazir, and promoted them to the highest posts¹.

A.D. 1169.

The same good understanding reigned next year, which was the 365th of the Hejra, between the two courts of Damascus and Al Kairo, when the Franks made a fresh attempt on the sea-port of Damietta, and kept it closely besieged during the space of fifty-two days. Nuro'ddin was no sooner informed of this circumstance, than he caused a powerful diversion to be made in their Syrian

^b Abu'lfed. Abu'lfaraj. Al Makin, Ebn Shohn. & al. sup. citat.

¹ Renaud. ubi supra, p. 534, & seq.

territories, and obliged them, without any farther trouble, to raise the siege, and go to the relief of their own conquests. There this mutual harmony did not a little contribute to increase Salaha'ddin's credit and authority in Egypt, whilst that of the khalif gradually lessened in that kingdom. There happened, however, nothing considerable in it either to the one or the other, except some slight advantages, which the former gained over the Franks, in an irruption he made against them into Syria; whence being returned, at the end of the campaign, he caused two public edifices to be converted into schools at Al Kayro, for the encouragement and promulgation of the Sonnite doctrine, in opposition to that of the Shiites. It is not improbable that this step was taken in compliment, if not in obedience, to Nuro'ddin, who was a zealous Abbasside, and looked on the Shiites as heretics, and as such bore a mortal hatred to the Fatemites, insomuch, that he sent, not long after, an express order to the wazir, that Al Aded should not be any longer prayed for in any of the Egyptian mosques; but that the khalif of Baghdad should be substituted in his room. A dangerous attempt this was! and such as could hardly fail of causing a general revolt among the Fatemite Moslems, in case any of their mollahs could be found that would venture to comply with it, or even be forced to do so by any motive. Salaha'ddin made a strong remonstrance on this subject; notwithstanding which, he next year received such express orders from that prince, as he dared not, or cared not to disobey; and the khalifs of Baghdad were accordingly prayed for in the mosques of Al Kairo.

This year, which was the 366th of the Hejra, proved pregnant of several considerable events; particularly the deaths of Al Mostanjed, khalif of Baghdad, and the khalif of Egypt, which last was followed by the total extinction of the Fatemite khalifat, or dynasty of those new pontiffs in Africa. Al Aded was then sick, and on his death-bed, when Nuro'ddin's orders were put in force, and the new khalif of Baghdad was substituted in the usual prayers: whether he knew any thing of that change, we are not told, but only that he expired some few days after; neither can we conclude, with any tolerable certainty, concerning the cause and circumstances of his death, from the various relations given us of it by the Moslem and Arabic writers, some affirming that he was dispatched by a dose of quick poison given him by Salaha'ddin; others affirming that he died a natural death. The wazir was no
sooner

*End of the
Fatemite
dynasty.*

sooner assured of his death, than he took possession of the palace, and all the immense riches that it contained. Having seized on the deceased khalif's family, he ordered them to be conducted to the most private and retired part of the palace, and to be kept under a strong guard : all his slaves, likewise, he disposed of ; some for his own use, others he either gave away, manumitted, or sold. Thus ended the Fatemite dynasty in Egypt, after it had continued in Africa two hundred and seventy-one years ; that is, seventy in Kairwan, and two hundred or two hundred and one in Kahirah. We have elsewhere taken notice, that their founders pretended to be descended from Ali, by Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, but were all the time disclaimed as such by the Abbasside khalifs, and by them excommunicated as usurpers, tyrants, and impostors, together with all their adherents, as heretics and rebels to their lawful sovereign.

Salaha'ddin, though now arrived at the zenith of wealth, power, and grandeur, was, however, obliged to act with great caution, both with respect to the jealous Nuro'ddin, and to the Egyptian Moslems ; who, as Fatemites, being mostly of the Shiite sect, and irreconcilable enemies to the Sonnites, could not be supposed to acquiesce easily in such a change of submission. As for Nuro'ddin, who was by this time become exceedingly powerful, and still treated him as his subject and slave, and would not suffer him to delay, much less dispute, the least of his commands, he had all possible reason to apprehend the most strenuous opposition and marks of his resentment, if he did not take the utmost precaution to conceal his ambitious designs from him, especially as he had just cause to fear, lest the far greater part of the haughty emirs and grandees of Egypt would immediately go over to his standard, as soon as they perceived the least likelihood of a rupture between them.

*Salaha'd-
din's sup-
ports.*

Salaha'ddin had, however, two very considerable supports ; namely, the chief officers of the army, whom he had taken care to secure to his own interest, by distributing amongst them a large portion of the riches of the late khalif, as before mentioned, and the other a most faithful and excellent private council, consisting chiefly of his own family and friends, whom he had invited out of Syria into Al Kairo, with his own father, the old emir Ayub, a consummate politician, at their head ; by whose advice he conducted himself in all his enterprizes. In order to take off the attention of so many eyes, and to stop the mouths of the Shiite preachers, one of the first steps he took was to publish a gazie,

gazie, or *religious war*, against the Franks, and to declare his design of driving them out of Egypt, and of assisting Nuro'ddin to expel them likewise from Syria; in all which measures, he still proceeded with the deepest seeming regard to that prince, and with the greatest expressions of submission and loyalty: yet could not all his circumspection prevent his very first expedition against the Franks in the fortrefs of Al Shâwbeck, on the frontiers of Syria, from alarming that jealous prince to the highest degree, and assuming all such menacing airs of absolute sovereignty over him, as made him fear, in his turn, the effects of his resentment.

Ayub was too experienced a warrior and statesman to be easily diverted from the prospect of seeing his son in possession of the Egyptian throne: he therefore encouraged his son to pursue his resolutions at all adventures; and, whilst he amused Nuro'ddin with the most feigned submission, and acts of generosity, to take all proper means and measures to secure so valuable a crown to himself and his descendants. To all these wise precautions Salaha'd-*Nuro'ddin grows more*
din took care to add one more; namely, that of gaining *jealous of him.*
the Egyptians to his interest and administration, by popular acts of generosity and mildness; in which he succeeded so well, that he soon became their darling and idol. Thinking he had now effectually guarded against the effects of Nuro'ddin's jealousy; he ventured a second attempt on the fortrefs of Shawbeck, and on that of Cairac; but received such a threatening message from him, as quickly obliged him to raise the siege of both, and to endeavour to pacify him by apologies and fresh expressions of submission, reinforced by magnificent presents. Nuro'ddin, who was no less a master of the art of dissimulation, appeared outwardly satisfied with his proceedings, but was all that while raising a powerful armament, with full resolution to invade Egypt next year: however, happily for Salaha'd-din, who was in the utmost consternation at these preparations, intelligence was brought him, that Nuro'ddin died of a squinancy at the castle of Damascus, just as he was going to enter upon that expedition, in the year of the Hejra 569^k, to the great joy, not only of Salaha'ddin and his whole family, but of the Egyptians, who dreaded his approach no less than they admired the magnificence and lenity of his generals.

A.D. 1173.

Dies of a squinancy.

^k Abu'lfed. Abu'lfar, & al. *supra* citat. Renaudot, *ubi supra*, p. 517, & seq.

Salaha'ddin, though now freed from the apprehensions of so powerful an enemy, dared not venture to take off the mask, and assume the sovereign power and title, while he saw his successor at the head of a powerful army, and no less desirous than able to dispossess him. For which reason, his first care was to secure to himself a sure asylum, in case he should be obliged, by a superior force, to abandon Egypt. He quickly set his eye on the kingdom of Nubia, as the most conveniently situated for such a retreat, and resolved upon the reduction of it. He accordingly dispatched his brother Malek Turanshah thither, at the head of a sufficient force; but this prince confounded and discouraged at the sterility and inhospitality of the country, returned quickly after, without effecting any thing, and easily dissuaded him from that enterprize. His next design was upon the country of Al Yaman, or Arabia Felix, the reduction of which he easily completed, by the total defeat of the emir Abd'alnabi, who had made himself master of it, and whom he brought prisoner with him in chains. After this great accession of wealth and dominion, Salaha'ddin assumed the title of sultan, or sovereign of Egypt, and was acknowledged as such by the far greater part of the states of that kingdom. We say the far greater; for though the rest did not dare to oppose him openly, yet many lords of very considerable rank, especially among the Shiites, retained an irreconcilable hatred against the Abbasside khalif, and had engaged in a conspiracy against him, in favour of the Fatemite family. This plot, though deeply laid, could not, however, be long undiscovered, considering the many spies that were set over them, not only by the jealous sultan, for so we must style him henceforth, but likewise by the Abbasside khalifs and Sonnites that were intermixed amongst them. It was accordingly brought to light this year, which was the 569th of the Hejra, and followed by the most severe executions of the chief persons concerned in it, many of whom were crucified, others burned alive. These did not so far extinguish the zeal of the Egyptians for the Fatemite descendants, but that a revolt broke out next year against the new sultan, which was headed by Al Kanz, or Al Kanazo'ddoula, then governor of Assivan or Assiovan, in Upper Egypt. He had assembled a number of blacks; or rather swarthy natives, and marched directly into the Lower Egypt, where vast shoals of Egyptians flocked to him from all parts. Against them Salaha'ddin dispatched his brother Al Malek Al Touran, with a suitable

*Conspiracy
formed in
favour of
the Fate-
mite kha-
lif.*

able number of forces, who quickly engaged him with his usual impetuosity. After a desperate engagement, in which he cut in pieces great numbers of the insurgents, and amongst them their general, he easily extinguished the rebellion, and returned victorious to Al Kairo. About the same time, Salaha'ddin gained also a considerable advantage over the Franks, then closely besieging the city of Alexandria with a numerous fleet and army, under the command of William II. king of Sicily: against them he marched at the head of a powerful force, and with such surprising speed, that his unexpected approach diffused a panic through the Christian army: William was obliged to abandon his camp with the utmost precipitation and confusion, leaving all his military engines, stores, and baggage a prey to the enemy¹.

Signal defeat before Alexandria

This success was followed next year by a much greater in Syria, where he reduced the strong capital of Damascus, and made himself master of several other considerable fortresses and towns in that country. In the 572d year of the Hejra, he returned into Egypt, and entered his capital in triumph, after he had regulated his affairs, and made his brother Al Malek Al Turan governor of Damascus, and his other Syrian conquests. Having rested himself and his troops, he began to build that famous wall, which was to inclose the cities of Meffr and Al Kairo; but this he did not live to see finished, though he saw the completion of some other public structures, which he caused to be erected, particularly the college, or public school, in the city of Meffr, and the hospital at Al Kairo, with others of less note, which were begun in the same year. About the same time, a new revolt broke out in Upper Egypt. A number of rebellious black natives of that country took arms, under the command of one Abd'astkuah, who pretended to be Dawd, or David, the son of the late Fate-mite khalif Al Aded, and had his rendezvous near the ancient city of Cast, or Koptos, in that province: but being timely surprised by the sultan's forces, before they had time to do any great damage, they were easily routed, and either destroyed or taken prisoners. Their leader fell one of the first; and, by his death, threw the rest into an universal panic and confusion: above three thousand were publicly hanged, insomuch that of one hundred thousand insurgents, no less than eighty thousand are reckoned to have perished in that fatal revolt.

Salaha'ddin returns into Egypt.

Meffr and Al Kairo surrounded by a wall.

¹ Abu'lfed. Abu'lfar. Al. Makin, Bohaddowla, & al. supra citat. Renaudor, ubi supra, p. 541.

A.D. 1177.

Salahaddin put to flight by the Franks.

The year following, which was the 573d of the Hejra, proved more unfortunate to Salah'addin. Having led a very numerous army again into Palestine against the Franks, and sending his detachments about to ravage their territories, he met with such a terrible repulse, that he was forced to abandon his camp, and to betake himself to a precipitate flight. His Moslems, having no fortrefs to retire to, were forced to traverse all the vast deserts between Palestine and Egypt, and never stopped till they arrived at Al Kairo, where his entrance into his capital proved as disgraceful as the last had been glorious; for he had lost the greater part of his army and beasts of burthen, which perished in these deserts for want of water. As for the troops left in Palestine, which he so injudiciously detached to ravage the country, by which he had so greatly weakened his army, and gave the Franks that signal advantage over him, they were all either cut in pieces or taken prisoners. He himself owns to his brother, Al Tûran, in the dismal account he gives him of this fatal overthrow, that he had narrowly escaped more than once or twice the same fate; and acknowledges that nothing but a Divine Providence, which had reserved him for some grand design, could have brought him safe into Egypt. He seems, indeed, to have been designed as a scourge to the Christians during the remainder of his reign; but as the chief of his exploits against them, performed in Palestine and Syria, have been described in their proper places, we shall here confine ourselves to those few particulars which more properly relate to the Egyptian history.

A.D. 1180.

Receives a new title from the khalif of Baghdad.

We meet with nothing considerable till the year of the Hejra 576, in which Naser Ledini'llah having been raised to the khalifat of Baghdad, honoured him with the patent of his investiture as sultan of Egypt, together with the kaftan, and other insignia of royalty, and several magnificent presents; to which he added the title of emir al omra, in consideration of his great services both to the khalifat and to the Mohammedan religion. In return for which honours, as well as to gratify his own martial inclination and zeal against the Christians, he set about raising a most powerful army, in order to make a fresh, and, as he hoped, a more successful expedition into Syria; but it was not till the 578th year of the Hejra, that he was in a condition to take the field. Then he began his march at the head of a formidable force, attended by a most splendid retinue of his chief officers, and amidst the acclamations and good wishes of this court and city,

though

His last expedition into Syria.

though not without some apprehension of ill success, occasioned by a bard, who, squeezing himself through the croud of other poetic congratulators, presented him with a sprig of camomile and a distich, which that prince took for an ill omen, and threw a visible damp upon all his joy. However, he marched at the head of his army, but was repulsed with disgrace before Aleppo and Al Mawfel, after having spent much time and labour in besieging these two important places.

Whilst he sustained these mortifying checks in Syria, A.D. 1182.
his Egyptian dominions were not a little alarmed at the appearance of a most powerful fleet and armada of the Franks on the Red Sea, which seemed to threaten the cities of Mecca and Medina. The news of this armament no sooner reached Al Kairo, than Al Malek Abu Becr, Salah'addin's brother, who was left viceroy of Egypt during his absence, caused another to be equipped with all speed, the command of which he gave to his governor of the marine, named Lûlû, a brave experienced officer, who lost no time to go in quest of them. He quickly came up with them on the coast of Al Kairo; upon which a most dreadful fight ensued, wherein both sides behaved with the most obstinate bravery, but concluded at length in favour of the Moslems, who made a most horrid slaughter of the Christians, sunk a great many of their ships, killed an incredible number of their men, and took most of the rest prisoners, who were all likewise butchered to a man. This proved so fatal a blow to the Franks, that they never more ventured the like attempt; and both the Egyptian viceroy and admiral gained immortal praise amongst the Moslems, not only for that timely expedition, but even for their inhuman treatment of the Christian prisoners, whom their writers accuse of having slaughtered a great number of pilgrims going to Mecca before that defeat, and to have, moreover, threatened the destruction of that city and temple. As for other outrages charged upon them, and their loss of ships, men, &c. they differ so much in their accounts, that we can say nothing certain about them ^m.

Franks armada on the Red Sea.

Defeated by the Egyptian admiral

Salah'addin still pursued the war in Syria, and had the pleasure to find the next campaign more successful than the former. The continuance of the war obliged him to send frequently to his brother, the viceroy of Egypt, for fresh reinforcements, and at length to order him to resign A.D. 1183.

Salah'addin's conquests in Syria.

^m Abu'Isa. & al. sup. citat.

the government of Egypt to his nephew Takio'ddin Al Modhaffer, and to come to him into Syria with a fresh supply of forces. Upon his arrival he promoted him to the government of Halep, in the room of another brother of his, lately dead of the wounds which he received at one of the sieges, whose loss so deeply affected that conqueror, that he was forced to send for Al Malek Al Adel out of Egypt, to assist him in his councils. With his assistance he proceeded vigorously and successfully against the Franks during the next and following years, spreading dread, horror, and desolation wherever he appeared, and every where displaying the most invincible hatred against the Franks and Christians.

During his long absence, from the year of the Hejra 578 to that of his death in 589, the heads and pens of the writers of his reign seem to have been so wholly engrossed by his vast conquests, that they have not taken notice of any thing memorable in Egypt, excepting the recalling his nephew Takio'ddin, whom he had appointed viceroy, from that government, upon some suspicion of his designing to secure that crown for himself, in case any disaster happened to him whilst he was pursuing his war against the Franks. We are told that Taiko'ddin, being afraid of obeying his orders, and returning to Damascus, took refuge with Kurkush, one of his Mamluks, who had made himself master of Barka and some of the neighbouring provinces, and was become very powerful in those parts, to the no small resentment of Salah'addin: the sultan, however, at that time, reduced his nephew to his duty and interest by fair means, and advancing him to the government of some other provinces, restored his own brother Al Malek Al Adel to his former government in that kingdom.

A.D. 1186. The other, and indeed more material occurrence which happened this year, is the plundering of the Egyptian caravan in its way to Mecca, by the Franks, who put a vast number of the pilgrims to the sword, and threatened death to the Moslems, and destruction to their two holy cities of Mecca and Medina. What greatly aggravated this piece of hostility was, that Arnold, count of Castilia, who was also *sahib*, or *lord*, of Al Carak, the commander of the Christians, had but lately concluded a treaty with Salah'addin, who so resented this treachery, that he swore he would strike off his perfidious head, if ever he got him into his hands, as he accordingly soon after

*The Franks
plunder the
Egyptian
caravan.*

after did, upon his taking him prisoner, and offering him his life in vain to turn Mohammedan.

In the year of the Hejra 589, that great Moslem conqueror died at Damascus, in the fifty-seventh lunar year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign, to the inexpressible grief of all the Mohammedans, and the no less real joy of all the Christians, to whom he had ever been a most irreconcilable enemy and dreadful scourge. We have given elsewhere a full account of his last sickness, death, and other particulars relating to the manner and circumstances of them, as well as his funeral obsequies, issue, the partition of his conquests and dominions between his sons and brothers, his character, and instances of his generosity and singular contempt of riches; which last had so far exhausted his treasury, that if we may believe the author of the *Lebtarikh*, who was an eye-witness of the fact, as he himself assures us, there were found in it, at his death, but one single Syrian dinar, and forty-seven dirhems, or drachms.

A.D. 1193.

Salah'addin's death and character.

No sooner was Al Malek Al Adel, Salah'addin's eldest son, proclaimed his successor, and received the homage of his brethren, uncles, and other grandees, than he notified his elevation by an express to his brother Al Aziz Othman, then viceroy of Egypt, and to all his other brethren, in their respective principalities and governments, with the usual injunctions that they should all take the oaths of allegiance to him. This new sultan, a prince of the most opposite character to his father, had not one single virtue which could inspire them either with love or fear; and, to complete his misfortunes, made choice of a new wazir, who easily persuaded him to exchange all his father's old faithful servants, for a set of new ministers, who, by encouraging him in his lewdness and other vices, rendered him still more contemptible, and quickly occasioned that general defection, which broke out at the very beginning of his reign, in so many parts of his dominions, particularly in the kingdom of Egypt. The ambitious Al Aziz, a prince no less debauched and vicious, had no sooner returned from assisting at his father's funeral, than he was surrounded by the chiefs of his court; who being no strangers to his towering views, exhorted him, with one voice, to assert his right to the crown by open force, and cast off all farther allegiance to that of Syria, and even to invade that kingdom, upon the first favourable opportunity; to which advice he readily agreed. The necessary preparations for this expedition took him up near two years, during

Succeeded by Al Malek Al Adel.

ing which he entered into a firm alliance with his uncle Al Malek Al Adel Abu Bekr, then *saleh*, or *prince*, of Al Carac, to join forces in order to expel him out of his Syrian dominions. Mean while the infatuated Al Malek Al Adel, unmindful of every thing but his own pleasures, indulged himself in all kinds of lewdness, gaming, drinking, and other debaucheries, gave them all the time and opportunity they could wish for, to invade his dominions, and surprize him in his capital of Damascus, altogether unprepared.

A.D. 1195.

*Invades
Syria.*

They accordingly entered Syria with their joint forces, in the year of the Hejra 592; and without any considerable opposition, besieged that city. Whether it surrendered to them, or was reduced by force, a circumstance about which our authors are not agreed, they made themselves masters of it, and obliged Al Adel to submit.

Al Aziz by this time was become so powerful in his new conquered kingdom, that he governed it without control, was prayed for by name in all the mosques, coined money, and in all other respects exercised supreme authority, leaving only to his brother Al Adel the bare shew and shadow of royalty. However, he soon rendered himself contemptible, by his debaucheries, to the emirs or grandees of both kingdoms, even in a greater degree than his brother; for Al Adel, in spite of his vicious nature, had gained the affections of many by his generosity, while Aziz lost them by his want of that virtue. Al Aziz reigned, however, till the 595th year of the Hejra, when he was suddenly carried off by death; leaving, as most authors agree, a son behind him, named Al Mansur, not then above nine years of age; to whom, however, the emirs, both Salahian and Asadian, took the oaths of allegiance; but insisted that his uncle Al Afdal should be invited to take the reins of government during his minority. Al Afdal was then in Syria, when the news of his brother's death, and of his being invited to the regency of Egypt, were brought to him. He set out with all speed for Al Kairo, and at his arrival was received and acknowledged regent by them all, amidst the acclamations of the people.

A.D. 1198.

*Al Aziz
dies.
Succeeded
by Al
Mansur.
Al Afdal
chosen re-
gent.*

*Renews the
war in
Syria.*

The first step which he took after his installation, was to revive the war and invasion of Syria; and this, in all probability, in complaisance to the Egyptian emirs, who had invited him to the regency, and had been the first promoters of it in the last reign. To this end he entered into

an alliance with another of his brothers, named Dhaher, who was sultan, or soltan of Aleppo, and at that time very powerful. They began with the siege of Damascus, which Al Adel had recovered since the death of Al Aziz, and was then laying siege to another fortress, but abandoned it to come to the defence of this. Damascus was accordingly besieged by those two princes with great vigour, and as bravely defended by the Syrian emirs, whom Al Adel had gained to his interest by new marks of munificence; when, in the heat of the siege, a sudden quarrel happened between the two brothers Al Dhaher and Al Afdal, upon a beastly occasion, which terminated in a total rupture. The former, having expressed his resentment against the latter in the most violent and reproachful terms, withdrew his forces, and retired to Antioch, leaving him to carry on or abandon the siege, as he should think fit. Al Afdal, having neither interest enough within, nor force enough before Damascus, to hope to reduce it, made the same speed to retire from the city, and led back his army into Egypt. Thus ended this fruitless expedition, just at the time when the place was ready to surrender; and Al Afdal returning to Al Kairo, resumed the reins of government, as regent, during his nephew's minority, though not without a view of depriving him of his crown.

*Forced to
retire into
Egypt.*

Whilst he was projecting this unnatural treason against that young prince, a more dangerous plot was hatching in Syria, from another quarter, of which neither he nor the regent had the least suspicion. His great uncle Al Malek Al Adel Abu Becr, the late Salah'addin's brother, to whom that sultan had bequeathed a good number of provinces and governments, in Syria, Mesopotamia, and elsewhere^o; had beheld, with no small pleasure, his two contending nephews, Al Adel and Al Aziz, weakening each other by their mutual wars; and though, under the specious pretence of tenderness and affection, and a desire of reconciling them to a mutual peace and amity, he assisted each of them in their wars and invasions of each other's dominions; yet he acted from the sole view of finding a proper time for seizing and securing them to himself and children. He had actually got possession of Damascus; and was now making preparation for invading Egypt, with no less speed than probability of success; whilst the infatuated Al Afdal, wholly taken up with his own de-

*Al Malek
Al Adel in-
vades
Egypt.*

^o Abu'lfar. & al. sup. citat. Vide & Renaudot, ubi supra, p. 559.

A.D. 1199.

*Reduces Al
Kairo.*

signs, and no less ignorant of, than unprepared to oppose those of his uncle, gave him all the time and opportunity he could wish, to come and surprise him in his very capital. Al Malek Al Adel led his army into Egypt without opposition, in the year of the Hejra 596, and appeared before the walls of Al Kairo, which he found so defenceless and unprepared against a siege, that he forced it to surrender in less than eight days after his encamping before it. The next thing he did was to oblige the regent to sign a treaty, in young Al Mansur's name, by which he ceded to him the kingdom of Egypt, and obliged him to retire out of it, into some other provinces granted unto him in consideration of the treaty, and in exchange for his regency.

Al Adel, being now in full possession of the kingdom, thought proper for a while to govern it, in the name of young Al Mansur, and, as regent in his minority, to prevent any insurrection or opposition, either from the Egyptian emirs, who had taken the oaths of allegiance to him immediately after his father's death: but his generosity, and their gratitude, soon rid him of such fears from that quarter at least, and gave him a moral certainty, that he might safely assume the sovereignty, and reign in his own right. However, to give such a step a shew of lawfulness, as well as expediency, and such as might carry the appearance of religious right in the eyes of the people, it was thought proper that he should convene some of the chief Moslem doctors, who by artful questions on the subject, as well as by private gifts, might be induced to give a public sanction to his title, of sultan of Egypt; after which award, he made no difficulty to assume that title, nor the emirs to acknowledge him as such. He accordingly reigned, without opposition, in his new conquered kingdom, from this time to the year of the Hejra 615, and was possessed of the most considerable dominions, both in Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia; which his brother had, with so much labour and bloodshed, subdued.

*Takes the
sovereign
power and
title.**Receives
an embassy
from the
Abyssinians.*

In his reign, though we cannot fix which year of it, came ambassadors from the emperor and clergy of Abyssinia to Alexandria, to desire the patriarch to favour them with a new metropolitan, in the room of the old one deceased; upon which John, who held the see at that time, appointed a proper person to go through all the monasteries in that city and neighbourhood, to enquire after a person fit to be ordained to that dignity; who spent three months, without being able to find one to that prelate's mind. The ambassadors, tired at his delay, were directed at length to have

have recourse to the sultan, and to beg of him to interpose his authority in their behalf; who, upon receiving the Ethiopian monarch's letter and presents, together with the information, that none of the Egyptian monasteries afforded a person fit for that high office and dignity, immediately made choice of one Kylos, then bishop of Fuah, to be consecrated for that end. He was accordingly constituted and consecrated to it in form by the patriarch, though contrary to the canons and rubric of the Coptic church, this being only a translation or promotion from one see to a higher, or from a bishoprick to a metropolitan dignity; which promotions, though frequent among the Syrian Jacobites, Nestorians, and even Melchites, or orthodox, all of whom had particular forms of prayer and ceremonies suited to such purposes, in their respective rituals, were yet utterly unknown among the more rigid Copts, where such translations from a lower to a higher, or from a bishop's to a metropolitan see, had never been heard of.

Nominates an abuna for that church.

However that be, he was accordingly consecrated, and received in Ethiopia, both by the king and court, as well as all the people, with the greatest marks of respect and submission, and exercised his function to the great satisfaction of that church and clergy; yet, in less than five years, the patriarch had the mortification to see him come back from Ethiopia, and hear him give a very melancholy account of the cause of his return. He told him, that having been in a great measure forced, by the continual importunities and solicitations of the empress, to ordain and consecrate her brother bishop of Auxuma, the metropolis of Abyssinia; ever since that time this young prelate had assumed all the authority of a metropolitan, and treated him with the utmost contempt. He had, moreover, carried his resentment, for daring to oppose his measures, so far as to send some of his servants to assassinate him, in the dead of night, in his own house; so that it was with the greatest difficulty and danger that he had made his escape out of that kingdom, and got safe into Egypt. This politic step of the Abyssinian court had been often attempted in order to free themselves from the necessity of receiving their abuna, or metropolitan, from the patriarchs of Alexandria; but had been as often frustrated by the strenuous opposition of those prelates, especially in the reigns of the Fatemite khalifs; who made it a matter of conscience, as well as policy, not to intermeddle with

Kylos's reception in that empire.

Outwitted by the empress.

Forced to return to Egypt.

affairs of that nature, or oblige them to act contrary to the canons and constitutions of their church. Whereas the new sultan of Egypt, less scrupulous, as well as less acquainted with the danger of interposing his authority, gave occasion, by that one irregular step, to the great feuds and dissensions which ensued, not only in Egypt but in Abyssinia.

A.D. 1209.

*The Franks
irruption
into Egypt.*

Al Adel's dominions were, by the additional conquest of Egypt, become so extensive, that he found much more difficulty in preserving, than in conquering them. He had, on the one hand, the Franks in Syria and Palestine, who did not let a year elapse without making some conquest or irruption, either there or in Egypt; and, on the other, some new revolt to quell among his more distant provinces: so that he could not be long absent from the one, but he heard of some fresh attempt made upon it by those irreconcilable enemies to him and his religion. It was upon such an occasion as this, that they took the advantage of his being employed in suppressing an insurrection in Mesopotamia, and made a dreadful irruption upon the coasts of Dimiyat, or Damiata; which seemed to threaten the whole kingdom. We are not told who was the chief commander in this expedition; but only that, on their arrival, they found the country so destitute of forces, and in such a defenceless state, that they immediately laid siege to that rich sea-port; both by land and sea, whilst another body of their army penetrated into the country, without opposition, almost as far as Al Kairo, committing the most dreadful outrages, and carrying off the richest plunder; whilst Al Kamel, one of the sultan's sons, who was left governor of the kingdom during his father's absence, was forced to retire and fortify himself in that capital, and leave Damiata to make the best defence it could against the besiegers. The Franks, however, finding Al Kairo so well fortified and guarded, thought fit to retire without doing any farther damage than plundering a monastery belonging to the Melchites, in the neighbourhood of that capital, and rejoining their other forces at Damiata; where, after some fresh attempts on the place, they were forced to abandon it; and, having put all their rich plunder on board, set sail again for Palestine^a.

*Dreadful
ravages.*

*Refulse be-
fore Da-
miata.*

Soon after this irruption, whilst the sultan was still employed in his Mesopotamian expedition, a fresh embassy arrived at Al Kairo from the emperor of Abyssinia, re-

^a Abu'lfar. & al. sup. cit. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 564.

questing him, and the Alexandrian patriarch, in the strongest and most pressing terms, to send thither a new metropolitan, in lieu of the late Kylos; alleging, that their country had hardly been free from an excessive drought and famine, and attributing that grievous judgment to the want of an abuna. They thought fit to impute the hasty flight of Kylos to an inhuman act of severity which he had been guilty of, in causing a reverend monk, chief of a convent, to be scourged to death, on suspicion of having stolen, or made away with, a golden verge or rod belonging to the metropolitan church; for which the relations of the deceased prosecuted him with such resentment as forced him to abandon the country. To give the greater weight to this charge, and their request, Moses, who was at the head of the embassy, was ordered to back it with rich presents, both to the sultan and to the patriarch: amongst those designed for the latter, was a crown of gold of such value and beauty, that Al Kamel, who presided during his father's absence, could not forbear admiring it, as well as the richness of the other presents. Moses failed not of taking that opportunity to extol the magnificence, power, and vast dominions, of his master; and, among other things, to tell the young prince, that the emperor would have enriched that crown with jewels to the amount of the yearly revenue of Egypt, had he not foreseen that the patriarch's extreme modesty would have prevented his wearing of it. However, upon the whole, the presents had their due weight, both with Al Kamel and the patriarch John; and procured a ready compliance with the request. A monk named Isaac, was consecrated metropolitan, and dispatched, with all possible speed, to Abyssinia; where he could not well fail of meeting with a kind reception, whatever his character might be in other respects, if what the ambassador alleged be true, that the heavens had been shut up so long against their country, and were not likely to be opened again till the arrival of the new abuna. As for Kylos, he not only lost his dignity of metropolitan, but his old bishoprick, though we do not find any farther enquiry or complaint against him, on account of his pretended unchristian severity.

We meet with nothing remarkable in this kingdom, during some of the following years, except many malicious calumnies invented by the apostate Christians; who, to please the Mohammedans, had accused the Alexandrian patriarch of amassing vast sums of money out of his ecclesiastic revenues; as likewise against some monasteries

A.D. 1211.

Al Kamel's justice and equity to the Christians.

for concealing great quantities of rich plate belonging to the church; but none of these accusations are worth mentioning, except it be in justice to the sultan, and his son Al-Kamel; the latter of whom, especially, behaved with surprising candour and equity towards the accused, and took all proper means not only to discountenance, but to suppress such vile practices^r.

Al Adel marries his daughter to Al Dhaher.

In the next or subsequent year was celebrated, with great magnificence, the marriage of sultan Al Adel's daughter with his nephew Al Dhaher, the late Salah'addin's son, now sultan, or king, of Aleppo; to which she was conducted with a suitable retinue, and there received by him and his court with equal splendor.

A.D. 1216.

Great tumults among the Christians about the choice of a patriarch.

The rest of Al Adel's reign seems to have been very peaceable and happy; excepting that, in the year of the Hejra 613, there were very grievous disturbances and shameful hostilities committed among the Christians, about the choice of a new patriarch, instead of John, who died in this year. The zeal and fury of the contending parties ran to such an excess, that neither their churches, nor times and places of the most solemn worship, were free from such outrageous tumults as were a scandal and disgrace to Christianity. In all which, the sultan, and his worthy son Al Kamel, bore no other part than in suppressing the most seditious and lawless, without interposing his authority any way, that might interfere with their free choice.

A.D. 1218.

Sultan Al Adel's death.

The sultan's death happened in the year of the Hejra 615, of his age seventy-three, and of his reign in Egypt nineteen. He had been very successful in his conquests, as well as in suppressing the frequent revolts which happened in his extensive dominions, and had added to them, but two years before, the kingdom of Al Yaman, or Arabia Felix. This, his grandson Al Malek Al Mâsud Yusef, the son of Al Kamel, had reduced, and took the king of it, named Solyman Ebn Shahishah, prisoner, and sent him in irons to Al Kairo. Al Adel was then preparing for some other expedition, when a new and formidable armada of the Franks appeared again on the coasts of Damiyat, or Damiata, and besieged it both by land and sea, spreading an universal terror through the kingdom. The news so affected the good old king, who was then at Damascus, worn out with fatigue and the infirmities of

^r Abu'lsar. sub ann. 608. Ebn Shohnah, ibid. Renaudot, ubi supra, p. 564, & seq.

age, as to throw him into a lingering distemper, which carried him off in less than three months*.

He was succeeded by his worthy son Al Kamel, whom he had so often made choice of to govern this kingdom in his absence. This prince, however, came to the crown at an unhappy crisis; on the one hand, his father dying in Syria, without having any of his sons about him, his brother Al Moadhem repaired to Damascus, and concealing his father's death till he had seized on all the treasure and valuables in the palace, obliged the chiefs of that city and kingdom to swear allegiance to him; whilst the treasury of Egypt had been in a great measure exhausted, to supply that of Syria, where the bulk of his army and scene of war mostly lay.

Succeeded by his son Al Kamel. Great difficulties attending the beginning of his reign.

On the other hand, the Franks not only kept Damiata closely besieged, but made thence frequent and dreadful inroads into the country, and threatened its capital with fire and sword; insomuch that the inhabitants seemed to place their chief refuge in flight, and were preparing to retire farther towards Upper Egypt, with their most valuable effects. Within he had the Melchites to fear, who were numerous, and hated by the Moslems, on account of their friendship to the Franks, and their readiness to take all opportunities of joining forces with them; on which account they were more oppressed with taxes, and other hardships, than the Jacobites, who bore an equal hatred to the Franks and Mohammedans. What was still worse, at this dangerous juncture, a body of about twelve thousand enthusiastic Moslems had made a furious irruption into the camp of the Franks before Damiata, and made a great slaughter, and did other mischief amongst them, and, in their way thither, amongst the Christians, before they could be suppressed; which so exasperated the vindictive besiegers, that they not only cut them all in pieces, but carried on their ravages and hostilities with greater fury and cruelty.

Damiata besieged by the Franks.

This was the sad state of the kingdom when Al Kamel came to the crown; the treasury exhausted of money, and the country destitute of a sufficient force to make head against such powerful enemies, both within and without. All these dreadful prospects were likewise aggravated, by the resentment and loud outcries of his Moslem subjects against the Christians settled amongst them, as the cause and promoters of these frequent and cruel incursions from

* Abu'lfar. Ebn Shohnah, & al. sup. citat.

*Christians
heavily
taxed.*

*St. Mark's
cathedral
demolished.*

*A great
scarcity
through
Egypt.*

Europe and Palestine. These were the real difficulties which that prince laboured under from the very beginning of his reign, and forced him upon severe measures, which neither his courage nor extreme sagacity could enable him to avoid. In order to silence at once the loud complaints of the Mohammedans against the Christians, he issued out an edict, by which he obliged all the latter, the clergy not excepted, to contribute towards the support of the war, either by entering into the service among the Moslems, or by procuring an exemption from it by dint of money. These exactions fell still heavier on the Melchites, for the reasons already mentioned, and obliged them to pledge their most valuable church utensils, to raise the large sums imposed upon them. Neither were their monasteries exempt from paying such large quotas as reduced them to the lowest degree of misery. The Jacobites, though less obnoxious and suspected, were however obliged likewise to furnish vast sums of money; and even these could not save their stately cathedral of St. Mark, in the suburbs of Alexandria, from being levelled to the ground; not so much indeed out of dislike to them, as, lest its vicinity, and vast height and extent, should induce the Franks to seize on, and make use of it as a fortress, to batter down and reduce that opulent city. It was therefore merely with a view of saving so considerable a place, that Al Kamel was obliged, much against his will, to order the demolition of that magnificent structure, to the great mortification and regret of all the Christians, especially the Jacobites, who beheld with no small grief the zeal and eagerness with which the Moslems executed the sultan's orders, till the very last stone of it was removed from the ground on which it stood^t. To stop likewise their farther progress into the country, the sultan ordered the city of Al Mansurah, then in ruins, to be rebuilt, and well fortified, as it stood on the spot where the Nile divided itself into the two principal branches which form the Delta. All these expences obliged him to raise the taxes on the Christians and Jews to a still more exorbitant height; and such vast sums were extorted from them, as forced great numbers to abandon the country, especially as the war had caused such an universal scarcity of corn and other provisions, that many of the poorer sort were famished to death, others through despair put an end to their misery, and great numbers among the rich renounced

^t Abu'lfed. Abu'l-saraj. Ebn Shohnah, & al. sup. cit. Renaud. ubi supra, p. 572, & seq.

their

their religion, and apostatized from Judaism and Christianity, to free themselves from those heavy imposts. All this time the soldiery made no scruple to break into the granaries, warehouses, and habitations, of the merchants and other inhabitants, and carry off all the corn and provisions they found in them with impunity, there being no possibility to suppress those disorders, till a truce was concluded between the sultan and the Franks, which followed the surrender of Damietta to him, as we shall see in the sequel^u.

In the mean time we cannot forbear taking notice of A.D. 1226. the party zeal which reigned at this time among the Jacobite Christians; a zeal which neither the heavy taxes with which they were beyond measure oppressed, nor the other calamities attending the war, could abate, in relation to the choice of a patriarch, in the room of the late John, whose see by this time had been vacant full ten years. In spite of all their pretended pleas of poverty and heavy taxes, each party was imprudent enough not only to apply to the sultan, but to offer him very considerable sums, to induce him to interpose his authority in favour of, or opposition to, the priest Dawd, or David, the candidate in dispute: yet such was the exemplary equity of that prince, as to decline the offers and requests of either, without intermeddling farther in their differences than by express prohibition to both to pursue any farther such indirect and unjustifiable measures.

Strange disputes between the Jacobite Christians.

The sultan's equity towards them.

Next year, that monarch gave a fresh instance of his A.D. 1227. singular bounty and generosity to the monks of the great convent of the Vale of Habib. In his return from Alexandria those fathers had given him and his retinue the best reception they were able to afford in their present condition. In return for which he was pleased to order some hundred of sacks of wheat, flour, barley, beans, and pease, to be sent to them out of his own granaries, and exempted them from the heavy tax that had been laid on their monastery, as well as from other duties and forfeitures. He allowed the monks of St. Macarius, who, for want of a patriarch, were without a superior, and dwindled to a very small number, full liberty to chuse one from amongst themselves, and an entire exemption from any future tax^{*}. By this time the Franks had carried on the siege of Damietta with such vigour, in spite of all the strong fortifi-

Instance of his generosity to the monks.

To those of St. Macarius.

Damietta surrenders to the Franks.

^u Abu'l-faraj. & al. sup. citat. in an.

^{*} Renaud. ubi supra,

cations which the khalif of Baghdad, Al Motawakkel, had caused to be added to it, in order to render it an impregnable bulwark against the frequent incursions of the Greeks, that it had been constrained to yield to their superior force, and to surrender at discretion, the sultan being in no condition to succour it; the consequence of which was, the Egyptians were every where so disheartened, and the enemy so elevated, that the total reduction of the kingdom was expected by both sides soon to follow that of Damiata. The Franks had been no less successful in Syria; so that the two sultans, or *kings*, of Damascus and Aleppo, began to dread the dissolution of their power, and to think, that if the enemy were once masters of the one, the other would not be long able to stand out against them.

Al Kamel forms an alliance with the Syrian princes.

Damiata retaken.

A.D. 1220.

Under these distresses the sultan had often applied to these two princes in vain for some succours, and endeavoured to persuade them, from the motives of their mutual danger, to join forces with him against the common enemy; but had hitherto found them too attentive to their own safety, to be so far solicitous for his. He was at length obliged to take a journey thither, and try how far his presence would prevail upon them; and there it was that a strong alliance was formed between those two princes for the recovery of Damiata, and the expulsion of the Franks. These allies accordingly marched directly to that city, and so closely besieged the Franks within, that, whether through want of provisions, or, as others will have it, through the misunderstanding of the chief commanders, they were forced to surrender, and sign a treaty, by which they were obliged to restore that important place, with all its districts and appurtenances, to sultan Al Kamel, and to agree to a mutual exchange of prisoners. This treaty was concluded in the 617th year of the Hejra; upon which Al Kamel took possession of it, two years after it had been wrested from him, and the Franks evacuated the kingdom. This treaty, and the recovery of that important fortress, quickly restored peace and order every where; whilst the Franks, through want of conduct and unanimity, lost the fairest opportunity they could have wished of making themselves masters of all Egypt.

Al Kamel being now happily rid of his imminent danger, and seeing his enemy at a convenient distance, was taken up in repairing the fortifications of Damiata, Al

Kairo, and other places of his dominions, and in moderating, with his usual candour and equity, the feuds that still raged as much as ever between the partisans and opposers of the election of David to the patriarchate. These, it must be owned, were grown to such a height, as to give him no small uneasiness whilst the Franks were so near him, with a powerful navy and army; and, what was still worse, the Melchite Christians, both numerous and ready to join with them, might have easily prevailed upon the malcontents of the Jacobite party to unite with them in the same interest. But now all those apprehensions from that quarter being happily blown over by the late treaty, he left those two factions at full liberty to wrangle amongst themselves about their election, whilst he applied his whole care in settling the most important affairs of his kingdom upon such a footing, as to be out of all farther danger of a foreign invasion. In this aim he succeeded so well, that whilst the Alexandrian church was torn in sunder by party rage^z, his other subjects enjoyed profound peace under his mild government, and himself all the advantageous opportunities his martial genius could wish for, of extending his conquests abroad, especially in Syria and Palestine: in the course of which he made frequent alliances with some one or other of his uncles or brothers, which seldom failed of turning to his advantage. His successes, however, and the care of securing his foreign conquests, so engrossed his thoughts and time, that his Egyptian forces were gradually drained to supply those in Syria and Palestine; insomuch that in the space of five or six years, during which he had been pursuing them, his own dominions were become in some measure defenceless, when most in danger to be invaded anew. For the Franks, ever attentive to all his motions, had been no less alarmed at his progress in the one, than inspirited by his neglect of keeping up the strength of the other part of his dominions. But what most exasperated them against him, and spurred them on to make a fresh and powerful attempt upon Egypt, was his having seized on the city of Jerusalem, and caused it to be dismantled, in one of his expeditions into Palestine; since which time they had not ceased soliciting fresh supplies of men and money from Europe, in order to make another attempt for the recovery of it out of his hands. As

*Deadly
contests a-
mong the
Christians.*

*Al Kamel's
new con-
quests in
Syria.*

^z Renaud. ubi supra, p. 576, & seq.

The Franks attempt a new invasion against him;

soon, therefore, as that desired reinforcement arrived, they set about making all necessary preparations for a descent against him, either in Syria or Egypt, as they found it most likely to answer their end. Al Kamel was soon informed of their design; and, conscious of the weak condition to which his Egyptian dominions were by that time reduced, saw himself obliged to enter into a fresh treaty with them, which, after a short negotiation, was concluded.

A.D. 1227.

which he prevents by a treaty.

By this treaty, which was signed in the year of the Hejra 624, Al Kamel was forced to yield to them not only the city of Jerusalem, but sundry other considerable places in Syria and Palestine, to preserve his Egyptian dominions from the threatened invasion: but upon this condition however, that Jerusalem should remain in its dismantled condition; that the Moslems should have their mosques, and other places of public resort and business, both there and in the other cities ceded by the treaty, together with some other privileges^a; which plainly shew either that his affairs, even at that time, were far either from desperate, or that the Franks were not so formidable as they have been represented. He had, in the course of six years, subdued many considerable cities, and even whole provinces, in Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, leaving all that time the government of his Egyptian dominions to his second son Al Ader, or Al Adar, whom he had appointed viceroy of that kingdom: when in the height and full enjoyment of all his successes, he saw his Syrian dominions threatened by a formidable army of Tartars and Seljuks, against whom whilst he was making proper preparations, he was suddenly overtaken with death, at his Syrian capital Damascus, in the twentieth year of his reign, and seventieth of his age, and of the Hejra 635^b.

His great successes.

A.D. 1237.

Death and character.

This event was pathetically bewailed by all his subjects, more especially the army, and all the learned men in his dominions, with whom he took a singular delight in conversing. He consulted them upon all proper occasions, not without giving them eminent tokens of his esteem and munificence. He erected and endowed academies for most branches of learning, to say nothing of other public works of his both in Egypt and Syria, where, as we have already shewn, his candour and generosity extended even to the Christians, notwithstanding

^a Ebn Shobnah, in an. Hej. 625.
ubi supra, p. 587, & seq.

^b Ibidem ibid. Renaudot,

ing their own ridiculous feuds and contests; and the strong partiality of the Melchites towards the Franks, whom they had often encouraged to invade and ravage his dominions.

Notwithstanding all these excellent qualities, he met with great opposition from his brethren and relations, and was obliged to engage in frequent wars and contests with them: in which, however, by singular prudence and invincible courage, he was able to defeat all their hostile designs, as well as to quell the successive revolts which were raised against him by his emirs both in Syria and in other parts of his conquered dominions^c.

Al Malek Al Kamel left at his death among other issue two sons, who succeeded him, the eldest in the kingdom of Syria and his other conquests, and the other in that of Egypt; this last, not by any assignment or partition of the late king, who appears to have died intestate, but by the free and universal choice of the emirs and grandees of that kingdom. We have already observed, that this young prince, whose name was Al Malek Al Adel Abu Bekr, which last name he had assumed from one of his ancestors, had been for some years before appointed viceroy of Egypt. He had by his address, and many public-spirited acts, so far gained the affections of the Egyptian emirs, that they made no difficulty to elect him soltan, though in prejudice of his elder brother Nojmo'ddin, his father's successor: so that the news of Al Kamel's death no sooner reached Egypt, but he was proclaimed soltan by all the grandees, and inaugurated accordingly in his capital of Al Kairo. His elder brother, who was then at Damascus, settling the affairs of his Syrian dominions, hastened to Egypt, at the head of a numerous army, in order to wrest that kingdom out of his treacherous brother's hands. During his absence his capital of Damascus having been seized by the united forces of the sahebs of Abek and Emeffa, he was obliged to submit to a treaty of partition with them; by which he had the kingdom of Egypt assigned to him, and entered it accordingly at the head of his forces, amidst the acclamations of the Egyptians, even those who had been most forward in electing and swearing allegiance to his brother; who, as he was informed on his march, had been seized, or murdered, by his own servants^d. He soon as-

*Al Adel
chosen sol-
tan of
Egypt by
the emirs.*

Hej. 637.
A.D. 1239.

*Driven out
by his elder
brother;*

^c Abu'lfar, & al sup. citat. Renaudot, ubi supra.
Shohnah, in an. 638.

^d Ebn
ter

*who makes
a peace
with the
Franks.*

ter possessed himself of the strong castle of Mount Gibel, which opened an easy passage into the heart of the kingdom, and thence proceeded to his capital of Al Kairo. He was no sooner settled on the throne than, reflecting on the fickleness of the Egyptian grandees, he set himself about the choice of such ministers as he might more safely rely on; and among them pitched upon the famed Alta-shib Azzo'ddin Abdalazziz, whom he raised to the dignity of high chancellor of the kingdom. He also made an advantageous peace with the Franks for his greater security. The articles were very disagreeable to the factious Jacobites, and their worthless patriarch David, who had been so turbulent and troublesome in the two former reigns. This consideration obliged him to turn their discord to his own advantage, by loading the Jacobites with the heaviest taxes, and dooming their patriarch to the severest fines for his simoniacal extortions.

*Fatal fond-
ness for his
Mamluks.*

The better to strengthen himself in his Egyptian dominions, he not only followed the maxim of his predecessors in keeping up a numerous body of Mamluks, or Circassian slaves, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more copiously in the sequel; but most injudiciously increased them to such an exorbitant number, and raised them to such a height of power, that they soon after overturned the whole Egyptian constitution, seized the government, enlarged the conquests, and raised that kingdom to a greater degree of wealth and splendor than it ever had enjoyed since the reigns of the Ptolemies. We have already observed, that Salah'addin Ebn Ayub, the founder of this dynasty, had abolished the schismatical khalifat of Egypt, and obliged that nation to acknowledge that of the Abbassides of Baghdad. The better, therefore, to suppress the faction of the former, which was still very powerful, he was the first who undertook to form a strong corps of militia from among the bravest and stoutest of this new upstart race of slaves, brought thither by myriads from the Turkish dominions by the plundering Arabs, and to have them carefully trained up in all the branches of martial discipline. His successors followed his example, and by the sole aid of that militia maintained themselves on the throne against all the opposition of the Fatemites. But Al Malek Nojmo'ddin, not satisfied with such a security, was the first who ventured not only to augment their number to an excessive height, but to introduce a
body

*Mamluks,
who and
whence.*

body of them into the portico of his palace at Al Kairo, whom he appointed for his life-guard, and to disperse a much larger number of them through other cities and fortresses of his kingdom; by whom he was informed of every thing that was done in his Egyptian dominions, and his subjects kept under a kind of tyrannic slavery. These upstarts became in a short time so powerful and insolent, as to occasion one of the greatest revolutions that ever happened in that kingdom, and thereby put a final end to the Ayubite dynasty.

In the mean time, whilst he took these imprudent precautions for securing Egypt, he was no less impatient to recover his Syrian dominions from his competitor's hands, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to invade them at the head of a powerful army, which he was then raising with all possible speed both in Egypt and among his friends and allies. So intent and eager was he on this enterprize, that he hired a large body of Khowarazmians from the other side of the Euphrates to invade Syria, where they committed the most horrid barbarities, sparing neither age, sex, nor condition, burning and plundering all the towns, and even churches, wherever they passed; insomuch that he found himself obliged to send them express orders not to approach nearer his Egyptian territories.

Nojmo'ddin prepares to recover his Syrian dominions.

Hej. 642.

Hires the Khowarazmians to invade Syria.

Mean while Al Malek Ismael, the new sultan of Damascus, was no less watchful over all his motions, and diligent in making the best preparations to oppose him. To that end he had concluded a peace with the Franks, and, to attach them more firmly to his interest, yielded to them the cities of Tiberias, Jerusalem, Ascalon, and other considerable places in Palestine and on the Syrian coast. This extraordinary cession, however, greatly offended his Mohammedan subjects; for which he made no other apology than that he granted those places to them for fear his Egyptian competitor should wrest them out of his hands; though hitherto no hostilities had been committed, but only preparations made both offensive and defensive; neither do we read of any invasion from either side till some years after this period. However that be, nothing happened considerable in this kingdom till the year of the Hejra 641, answering to that of Christ 1243, and that was the death of the patriarch of the Jacobites, after he had presided some months above seven years in the Alexandrian church, and reduced his flock, to the greatest poverty by his excessive avarice and horrid exactions,

The Syrian sultan prepares to oppose him.

Hej. 641.
A.D. 1243.

Cyril the patriarch dies.

His rich effects confiscated by the sultan.

Nojmo'ddin invades Syria.

Hej. 643.
A.D. 1244.

Defeats the allied Syrians and Franks.

Retakes his capital of Damascus, and his other Syrian dominions.

Constrains Ishmael to accept a new treaty.

under pretence of levying the heavy tribute which the sultans had imposed. He died, not only unpitied and unlamented, but detested as a monster of avarice and brutality. He was prosecuted even after his decease, and accused of having embezzled vast sums of the sultan's tribute to his own use, and heaped up an immense treasure, as well as vast quantities of the richest furniture and other valuable commodities. The sultan ordered his palace to be sealed up, his effects to be seized, and a severe inquiry to be made into his accounts: all his ill gotten wealth was sold by auction, and the money, which amounted to an excessive sum^f, confiscated into his own treasury. He did not even spare the church plate, utensils, and other ornaments of value belonging to the churches under that patriarchate, but seized on them in the same manner; by which seizure he acquired an immense sum; whilst he left the deceased pontiff hardly enough to defray the expence of a decent burial. Next year, being that of the Hejra 642, and of Christ 1244, Al Malek Nojmo'ddin having advanced at the head of his Egyptian forces into Syria, and joined his hired Khowarazmians, attacked the combined army of his competitor Al Malek Ishmael and that of the Franks, assisted by a numerous body of Knights Templars, and gained a complete victory over both, in which the knights, fighting with their usual intrepidity, and maintaining their post to the last, were all cut in pieces. This action, in which the Syrians and their allies lost a great number of their best forces, and had their camp and military chest plundered, proved so decisive in favour of the Egyptian sultan, that it gave a new turn to his affairs in that kingdom, and was soon after followed by the reduction of its capital, against which that monarch sent his generalissimo, the warlike Maimo'ddin, at the head of a numerous army, with the character of viceroy of his Syrian dominions. The siege was accordingly undertaken, and carried on with such vigour, that the garrison was forced quickly to capitulate, and to surrender it into his hands, on condition that they should be permitted to retire with all their effects.

By this time Al Malek Ishmael, the saleh of Balbek, and lately of Damascus, his competitor, was reduced so low by his many losses, and the defection of some of his allies, whom his strange behaviour, or perhaps more likely his late defeat, had alienated from his interest, that he was

^f Abu'lfed. Abu'lfar. Renaud. & al. sup. citat.

glad to submit to a fresh partition treaty, and not only to cede, but to renounce all future claim both to Damascus and other cities, which Al Malek Nojmo'ddin had been possessed of in that kingdom, and to accept such other places as he should think fit to assign him in lieu of them. In consequence of this convention, Al Malek Nojmo'ddin once more entered that metropolis in triumph, and was received with all the demonstrations of joy by his faithful Damascenes. As for Al Malek Ishmael, he retired to his old dominions of Balbek, to the great regret of the victorious Nojmo'ddin, who highly blamed his general for suffering him to escape, and sent his wazir, loaded with iron, prisoner into Egypt.

*Enters
Damascus
in triumph.*

Nojmo'ddin afterwards pursued his conquests with uncommon success, and, if we may believe some of our authors, dispossessed the two salehs of Balbek and Hemz, or Emessa, and some of their allies of their territories; though Al Makin, who lived about this time, mentions nothing concerning this last particular.

By this time the Franks, who had sustained so considerable a loss by their late defeat, and were no less alarmed at the vast successes of the Egyptian sultan, had made frequent and pressing instances with the European powers for fresh succours from thence, which were at length obtained from several courts, especially from France, which safely landed at Acca, on the Syrian coast, in the year of the Hejra 647, under the conduct and command of their famed Lewis IX. surnamed the Saint, and soon after were put into action by that prince, both in Syria and Egypt. His first expedition was against the city and sea-port of Damietta, the fortifications and garrison of which were at this time in no condition to make any considerable defence.

*The Franks
send for
fresh suc-
cours from
Europe.*

It surrendered to him almost as soon as his forces landed before it, the cowardly garrison abandoning the place at his first approach, flying by several ways, in the utmost disorder and confusion. The surrender of it proved, as was rightly deemed, a most effectual and speedy expedient to oblige Al Malek Al Saleh to withdraw his victorious forces out of Syria to defend his Egyptian dominions. He was then laying close siege to the city of Emessa or Hemz, whose emir was in alliance with that of Balbek and the Franks against him; but no sooner had the news of the loss of Damietta reached him than he ordered the siege to be raised, and marched with all speed into Egypt, to oppose the French monarch, and to drive him out of that kingdom. He was seized in his march with a tumour in

*Lewis IX.
arrives in
Syria with
a powerful
army.*

*Seizes on
Damietta.*

Hejra 647.
A.D. 1249.

*Al Malek
Al Saleh
dies in his
way to
Egypt.*

*Is succeeded
by his third
son.*

his thigh, which turning into a gangrene, put a speedy end to his life and reign, though not before he had made a severe example of his cowardly Damiatan soldiers, whom he ordered to be hanged in their military accoutrements. He died in the fortieth year of his age, and ninth of his reign, and was succeeded by his third son, surnamed Al Malek Al Saleh Moadhdhem Turan Shah, the founder of the city of Salehiyah, for the conveniency of hunting. He was at Hissn Caifa when his father died, but was proclaimed and acknowledged sultan without any opposition, by the means and policy of a favourite slave of the deceased monarch, a woman not only of exquisite beauty, but of admirable sense, wit, and resolution, who artfully concealed his death till she had convened all the Egyptian emirs and grandees, as well as the principal officers of the army, in his name, to take the oath of allegiance to this son. This pretended order was readily and punctually complied with by them all, and she appointed to govern the kingdom till the arrival of the new king. What chiefly influenced those grandees to so unanimous and speedy a resolution, was not only the singular influence which that favourite female was known to have over the deceased sultan, but more probably the great progress of Lewis in Lower Egypt, who, after the reduction of Damietta, was making the speediest marches, at the head of his Franks, towards the capital.

Hejra 648.
A.D. 1250.

Al Mansurah surprised by the Franks.

Is brave defence.

No sooner had Al Moadhdhem received the news of his succession to the throne than he hastened to the court, where he received the compliments and congratulations of the nobles, and the female favourite resigned to him the reins of government. He forthwith put himself at the head of a powerful army, consisting chiefly of Mamluks, and of his hired Khowarazmians, and marched with all possible speed to oppose the invading Franks, a strong body of whom had by this time advanced as far as Al Mansurah, detached from the main army, in order to surprise that place: they actually entered it sword in hand, killed a great many of the garrison, particularly the Othman general Ebn Shah, in a bath, and committed sundry other ravages, till overpowered by the volleys of stones, and other missiles, with which the citizens overwhelmed them from the tops of their houses, they were obliged to abandon the town; the streets being so narrow, and the gates so strait, that their cavalry could neither defend

themselves in the one, nor hardly escape through the other. At their return to the Christian army, they gave their monarch such an account of what they had done, and of what they had observed of the disposition of the Egyptian forces, that he immediately resolved to attack them at all adventures. The number and appearance of the sultan's troops were such as made him for some time hesitate whether he had best stand his ground against them, or retire. Lewis, on the other hand, thinking himself sure of victory, if he could but attack them in a plain, inadvertently ventured to lead his forces across the branch of the Nile, called Athimen, which divided the two opposite armies, without thinking of securing a retreat for his own, should it chance to be put to the rout. This great oversight inspired the enemy with fresh courage; upon which they fell upon the Franks with such impetuosity, that they defeated them entirely, slew great numbers upon the spot, and made a much greater number prisoners, among whom was Lewis their king and commander, who having secured no place of retreat, was obliged to surrender to the superior force of the enemy.

*King Lewis
and his
army de-
feated;
and he
taken
prisoner.*

He was obliged to redeem himself from his close confinement by an exorbitant ransom: the Moslem writers observe, concerning the motives of his enlargement, that the young sultan, vexed beyond measure to see himself stripped of all but the bare name and shadow of authority, by Shajr Al Dor, and the general, was no less attentive to the more flattering, though fatal, counsels and solicitations of a set of young Mamluks he had about his person, ever whispering in his ear, that the only effectual means he had left to extricate himself out of his present bondage, and to establish his own authority upon a sure foundation, against the overgrown power of the Mamluk emirs and their female protectresses; was not only to listen to the captive monarch's advantageous offers for his enlargement, but to form a peace and alliance with him, and such other Christian powers as were most likely to assist him in asserting his own rights against the usurpation of the emirs.

An advice of this soothing and important nature was greedily applauded by the young sultan; but as it was at the same time no less dreaded by the emirs, who on that account had placed a sufficient number of spies about his person, could not be communicated, much less resolved on, with such secrecy, but they had timely notice given them before any step had been taken towards executing

*The sultan
suspected
by his
Mamluks;*

*who revolt
against,
and assassi-
nate him.*

cutting any part of it: a general alarm had spread itself over the whole body at Al Kayro, and as obstinate an insurrection raised against the sultan, as if he had already been guilty of some attempt towards their total destruction. One of the most desperate of them, Rokn'oddin Abu'l-fatah, afterwards raised to the throne, having given him a most dangerous wound upon his first appearing to quell them, this unexpected indignity, joined to their loud clamours and scurrilous complaints, soon convinced the young prince, that his presence would but exasperate them the more, and expose him to greater dangers; to avoid which he saw himself constrained to take refuge in an adjacent wooden tower, on the border of the Nile. Hither they pursued him with redoubled fury, fully resolved either to make him perish in the flames, or to overwhelm him with volleys from their fire-arms or other missile weapons. They accordingly set fire to the tower, which was soon on a blaze on every side, and obliged him to throw himself into the river, where, while he endeavoured to save himself by swimming, they discharged such a shower of arrows, as put an end to his life and reign^b.

Hejra 643.
A.D. 1250.

Thus perished the unhappy Al Malek Al Saleh Moadhdhem Turan Shah, the last sultan of the Ayubite dynasty, through the jealousy and exorbitant power of the Mamluks, who had been the chief supporters of it during several glorious reigns against the Fatemite faction, and had been on that account so highly esteemed and favoured by all the sultans, from Salah'ddin, the first founder of that militia, to the unhappy reign of the unfortunate Al Malek Turan Shah.

*Shajr Al
Dor pro-
claimed
sultaneß.*

Soon after this sad catastrophe the Mamluk emirs assembled, and invested Shajr Al Dor, the late sultan's favourite, with the supreme authority, and caused her to be proclaimed, crowned, and prayed for, as sultaneß of Egypt, with the additional title of omm khaled, or *queen-mother*, as she had actually bore a son to the sultan Al Malek Al Saleh, named Khaled, who died in his tender years. She had not, however, enjoyed that dignity long before those very emirs, who had raised her to it, whether ashamed to see the Egyptian kingdom governed by a female and a slave, or because they observed her election disgusted the Egyptian grandees, shewed as much readiness to have her deposed, and chose in her stead one of their principal emirs, named Al Moez Azzo'ddin Aybek

^b Abu'lfed, ubi supra.

Al Turkoman. His reign, however, proved but short; for the emirs, whether out of dislike to his government, or perhaps ashamed that they had not rather chosen one of the Ayubite family to that dignity, made no scruple to depose him, and conferred the sovereignty of Egypt once more upon the Ayubite race. The person they made choice of was Al Malek Al Ashraf Musa Ebn Al Nafer Yusef Ebn Maz'ud Ebn Al Malek Al Kamel, one of the descendants of the late famed sultan Al Kamel, a child but six years old, who was crowned sultan on the 5th day of the Former Jomada. His election and supreme authority were soon after confirmed by the khalif of Baghdad, Mosta'fem, then on the throne; who, on account of his minority, appointed Azzo'ddin Aybek his governor, or guardian of the realm. This last, though vested with such an authority, did not forget to strengthen himself by proper alliances: one of his first public acts was the concluding and ratifying a treaty which had been set on foot between Al Malek Turan Shah and the Franks, upon condition that the latter should restore to the new sultan the town and castle of Damiata; which was accordingly complied with, and the place put into the hands of the Egyptians¹. Soon after, Lewis left the kingdom, and returned into Syria, from whence set sail for his own dominions.

*Depos'd,
and Al
Moez
chosen in
her room;
who is also
depos'd,
and Al
Malek Al
Ashraf
chosen in
his place.*

Another public act of his, no less acceptable to the Ayubite family, was to cause the interruption in their succession to the sultanat by the election of the chief emir Al Malek Al Moez, to be expunged, by inrolling the date of his pupil's reign from the unfortunate murder of his predecessor. We meet with nothing after worth notice, either concerning his government or his young pupil's reign, except some hot contests with Al Malek Al Nafer, the saleh of Damascus, till the year of the Hejra 652, in which happened that new revolution, which put a period to the Ayubite dynasty, and totally deprived all the princes of that family of any farther power or interest in this kingdom.

*The end of
the Ayubite
dynasty.*

This remarkable event was brought on by a no less person than the late Mamluk deposed sultan Al Moez Azzo'ddin, who, by the assistance of his wife Al Shajr Al Dor, whom he had married after his election, as well as by his own interest with the Mamluk emirs, was become powerful enough to get the young Al Malek deposed from the sultanat, and himself reinstated in that dignity; by which means he became the founder of a new dynasty.

¹ Abu'lfed. & al. supra citat.

C H A P. XLII.

The History of the African Islands.

WE shall begin with the islands situated at the mouth of the Red Sea, and trace them along the continent, first from north to south, then round the Cape of Good Hope to the gulf of Benin, and from thence along the Slave, Gold, Ivory, and Grain Coasts, to the Cape de Verds, concluding with Madeira, and those islands situated the nearest to the Streights of Gibraltar, and the mouth of the Mediterranean.

S E C T. I.

Islands of Bab-el-Mandel, Suachem, Barbora, Socotro, &c.

Bab-el-Mandel.

IN this order, the first island that occurs is Bab-el-Mandel, or the Port of Affliction, formerly called the Island of Diodorus, situated towards the entrance into the Red Sea, joining one side of the Streights of Bab-el-Mandel, and lying under the 13th deg. of north latitude. Standing in the very middle of the Streights, about four miles from the Arabian coast, and the same distance from Abyssinia, directly opposite to Cape Zeila, it divides the entrance into two canals, both which it fully commands, insomuch that the ancient kings of Egypt used to fortify them by a boom or chain laid across from the island to the continent on each side. Pigafet, however, affirms that the western canal is five German leagues over, and navigable by the barges and shipping; whereas the other is much narrower, and blocked up with shoals and sand-banks, an assertion which is denied by the most authentic writers (U). It is about

(B) Gotrard de St. Bernardin observes, in his voyage to India, that the Streights of Bab-el-Mandel are situated under 12 deg. 40 min. between two capes; that on the African side being called Rosbeh, and the other on the Arabian coast,

Ara. Immediately between these points is the island of Mium, between which and the Asiatic side runs a canal a league over, and about six fathoms in depth. The other canal that divides it from Africa is twelve fathoms deep; but the

about five miles in circumference, and important on no other account than its situation, as it produces neither fruits, roots, grain, or herbage. Formerly, however, it occasioned bloody wars between the Abyssinians and the Arabs of the kingdom of Adel, falling into their hands alternately, till the Portuguese took it, and demolished its fortifications. The Turks being now masters of both coasts, it is sunk into its natural nothingness, and is in a manner deserted, having but a few poor mean inhabitants, for whom it scarce provides a moderate sustenance^a.

Not far from hence lies the island of Suachem, or Suachin, according to Marmol, having the Red Sea on the west. It is about five or six leagues in circumference; though Rosario speaks of it as a very small contemptible island. *Suachem.*

Opposite to the kingdom of Adel is situated the island called Barbora, after a town of the same name upon the neighbouring continent. The inhabitants are Negroes, clothed in the fashion of the natives of Adel, industrious in trade, and great breeders of cattle, for which the soil affords excellent pasturage. In general, all the inhabitants of the islands and coasts of the Red Sea drive a considerable commerce with the natives of the opposite coast of Arabia: however, the rich trade carried on by the Moors of Ziden in drugs, precious stones, ambergrise, and musk, in which the islanders partook, is greatly diminished since the Dutch established so powerful a commercial empire in the East Indies^b. *Barbora.*

The next island is that of Zocotora, Socotora, or Sicuthera, discovered about two centuries since by Ferdinand Pereira, a Portuguese, and by some moderns believed to *Socotora.*

^a La Croix, tom. iv. p. 3. sec. 12.
p. 32. La Croix, tom. iv. p. 157.

^b Marmol. tom. i.

the coast equally inhospitable and dangerous to shipping, affording not a single harbour where the anchorage is tolerable, or the vessels sheltered from the storms that frequently blow here. In a word, it requires the greatest dexterity in piloting, the utmost caution, and the most accurate knowledge of the middle channel, to pass this gut with safety (1).

(1) Bernard. apud La Croix.

be the Dioscorides of Ptolemy and Pliny. It stands to the north-east of Cape Gardafui, or Gardafoy, called in some maps Rafulgat, and placed about seventy-five miles from this promontory, in the latitude of 12 degrees 10 minutes north, according to De Lisle, or 12 degrees 50 minutes if we follow La Croix, and a number of other writers. Mandesloe, undoubtedly by an error of the press, places it in 21 degrees 40 minutes, having Melinda to the north-east, and to the south the continent of Arabia, from which it is about sixteen leagues distant^a. Most authors agree in its being of considerable extent, no less than twenty-five leagues in length, nineteen in breadth, and about fifty in circuit. All the surrounding shore is bold, every where affording safe anchorage and good ports; it has in particular two fine bays and secure harbours, where the shipping ride safely against every wind that blows. These are called the harbours of Benin and Cora.

It is amazing that a place so often touched at by Europeans, lying so near Egypt, so much frequented by all the trading nations, should be so variously and contradictorily described by different authors; some affirming that it has only one town, called Tamart, or Tamary; others that it has three, the former being the chief; and others, that there is neither a town, village, or house on the whole island, the natives living in dens, caves, and burrows, dug under ground, the more effectually to shelter them against the scorching beams of the sun. Mandesloe, indeed, asserts that Tamary is a place very considerable for its extent, buildings, strength, and populousness, having a fort mounted with cannon, that commands the sea-port, and a fine palace, the residence of the viceroy. Whether this be so or not, it is agreed upon all hands, that the island is populous and fruitful, under the government of a prince (soltan) who was tributary to the sheriffs of Arabia, and now probably to the Porte.

Most of the inhabitants are Mohammedans, styling themselves Arabs; and indeed their manners and language bear a strong resemblance to those of the Arabians, if they be not altogether the same. The whole country abounds in cattle and fruit, with which, and some other commodities, they trade to Goa, where they are better received than the native Arabs, who are not permitted to enter that town without passports. The produce of the island consists chiefly in aloes, frankincense, ambergrise,

^a Mandesloe, apud Harris, tom. i. p. 754.

dragon's blood, rice, dates and coral (W), which are transported from Goa over many parts of the Indies, and to all the kingdoms in Europe; whence arise great profit to the traders, and advantage to the inhabitants, who are luxuriously supplied with all the necessaries of life, in exchange for their commodities. Formerly they had a more immediate intercourse with Europe, by means of the East India shipping, which frequently stopt here, when disappointed of their passage, either by being too early or too late for the monsoons; but now the stated periods of those winds are so well ascertained, that this port is entirely neglected.

The climate, says Dapper, is exceeding hot; to which he ascribes the short continuance of rain, which seldom exceeds two or three weeks in the season. This defect, however, is happily remedied by heavy dews, occasioned by the lofty mountains, whose tops are always covered with snow, so high as to stop the clouds, condense them, and afterwards dissolve them in a kind of heavy mist or fog, which thoroughly moistens the earth. There are besides some rivers rising from springs, which are never affected by the driest seasons; and on the coast are some wells dug by the Arabs, though other parts are totally destitute of water.

All the inhabitants are either natives of Socotora, or Arabs; these calling the former by the name of Beduins, or *stupid brutes*. They are distinguished into two sorts; the inhabitants of the coast, who intermarry with the Arabs, and are called Half Beduins, and those of the interior parts, who rigidly adhere to their own customs, and reckon it a heinous crime to mingle blood with foreigners. These last alone are the true Beduins, more fair than the Indians, and so beautiful in their shapes, that they might, says Dapper, pass for handsome Europeans; yet are they deceitful, lazy, and cowardly, suffering themselves to be in a manner enslaved by a handful of Arabs, and attending nothing besides husbandry and pasture; both which are chiefly carried on by the women. Their food consists of milk, butter, rice, dates, and the flesh of their cattle;

(W) The aloes brought from thence, called Socotorina angustifolia spinosa, flore purpureo, is easily distinguished by its glossy surface and transparency from every other kind of this plant. It is sent to Europe in lumps wrapt in skins, of a yellowish red colour before it is broke; but, when reduced to powder, is of a bright gold colour.

and their cloathing is greatly inferior to that of the rest of the inhabitants, who seem to make use of all the benefits of their situation and commerce, at the same time that they want the personal advantages of the former; for they are of a mean stature, dusky complexion, lean habit, hideous in their features, but hardy, healthy, and strong, to an extreme^b. With this account La Croix perfectly agrees, except where he asserts that, in general, they exceed the common stature, and have short, black, frizzled hair. They feed upon fish, flesh, milk, butter, and vegetables; the common dish being a composition of all these boiled together, with which they eat bread, rice, or, when these are wanting, dates, which they form into a kind of paste. The above composition they chiefly use in sickness, esteeming it a kind of panacea, capable of removing all manner of diseases; an opinion to which they are so rivetted as to be blind to repeated experience.

As to their dress, the fashion differs in the several parts of the island. Some writers assert, that the native Beduins go entirely naked, except a small bit of cloth tied round the loins, and suspended in form of an apron. Others again say, that they wrap up the privities in a kind of pouch, this being all their cloathing; whilst Thevet affirms that the body is covered with a long robe, and the head with a cap made of goat-skins. The women go bare-headed, and wear only the cloak and gown of camboline, or a shift made of goats-hair. In general, this is the dress of the island, and hangs down in a train behind, not unbecoming, though extremely incommodious, on account of the heat of the climate; for their method is to tie it round the body like a girdle, when they are at work.

They salute by kissing the shoulder; are entirely ignorant of arts, inasmuch that, but for the commerce of the Arabs, they would be destitute of every conveniency of life. Reading and writing, and the more liberal arts, they are, if possible, still more ignorant of, and deem it learning enough that they are able to reckon their cattle by notches made on a piece of wood; yet they are extremely ingenious in the camboline manufacture, which is a beautiful stuff, formed out of such coarse materials as goats hair.

Ossorius asserts, that the natives are prohibited polygamy, each man confining himself to one woman during her

^b Dapper, *ibid.* Thevet, lib. iv. cap. 11.

live; but all modern geographers affirm that their fortunes and inclinations are the only restrictions; and that the husbands divorce them at pleasure, either for a time or for ever. They may even be the fathers of children, without being obliged to maintain either the women or children, after they are delivered, provided only that the mother during her pregnancy, declare to whom she will give the child, when it sees the light. For this purpose, the father kindles a fire before the door of his hut or cave, and then makes proclamation that he will give away the infant, of which his wife is on the point of being delivered. He afterwards fixes upon some particular person for its adoptive father, to whom the infant is carried immediately after its birth. Here it meets with all that tenderness which is denied by the unnatural father, is given to a nurse, and ordered to be fed with goats milk. These children are called the sons or daughters of smoke; and it frequently happens that a good-natured man, who is himself incapable of getting one, shall have the honour of rearing a dozen children, upon whom he bestows all the affection of a real parent. This is perhaps one of the most extraordinary and unnatural customs that history can instance, as it seems to be founded upon no principle of religion, policy, or inclination, but upon mere caprice only; for it is common with a father, who exposes his own, to adopt the children of others, and requite, by his kindnesses to the latter, the good offices due to the former.

The Socotorans are no less singular in another custom, which equally reflects upon their humanity; for they commonly bury their sick before they have breathed their last, making no distinction between a dying and a dead person. Indeed their prognostics are infallible; and how should it be otherwise, when they never permit nature to make those vigorous efforts, which it frequently does towards a crisis, and in the last extremity. They esteem it a duty to put the patient as soon as possible out of pain; and the sick make this their request to their friends. When a father of a family finds himself thus circumstanced, and apprehends that his dissolution is near, he assembles his children around him, whether natural or adopted, his parents, wives, servants, and all his connections, whom he strenuously exhorts to a compliance with the following articles of his last will: never to admit any alteration in the doctrine or customs of their ancestors; never to intermarry with foreigners; never to permit an affront done to them or their predecessors, or a beast stole from either of them,

them, to go unpunished ; and, lastly, never to suffer a friend to lie in pain, when they can relieve him by death. Such are the extraordinary requests of the dying man : after which he makes the signal to have the last of them performed upon himself, and expires. Frequently this last duty is performed by means of a white liquor of a strong poisonous quality, which exudes from a tree peculiar to this island, of which no writer either gives the name or description. Hence it is, that legal murders are more common here than in any country in the world ; for, besides the inhuman custom last mentioned, the other requests of dying men produce numberless quarrels, and entail family-feuds and bloodshed upon the posterity for many generations in the course of revenging injuries done to their ancestors.

Their chief magistrates, next in rank to the sultan, are the cakis, or hodamos, who judge and determine in all causes political and ecclesiastical, civil or criminal. Those hodamos hold their employment for a year ; but the shortness of its duration is compensated by the extraordinary power and dignity annexed to the office ; it being the loss of an arm of any person to touch a bit of stick, or a cross, the badges of their authority, with which they never part while they are in the employment. There is no appeal from this tribunal, nor can the successor reverse any decrees passed before his coming into office. If a man, pinched with hunger, and ready to perish with famine, relieves his necessities by stealing a sheep or a goat, he immediately takes sanctuary in a temple ; but if he be overtaken by the lawful owner, before he has met with any person in the asylum, then he loses his right hand ; for, in that case, say they, he entered the temple contrary to the will of heaven, as was apparent by no one's being ready to receive him there ^c.

It has been supposed by some authors, that the Beduins were Christians of St. Thomas, or Jacobites ; that St. Francis Xavier converted many of them to the true faith ; and that the custom prevalent among them, of assuming the name of some saint, is an evident proof of their religion. But Dapper justly observes, that the calendar of saints afford no such names as Lacaa, Sumaa, Xambe, Taramo, and such like, the only appellatives known in Socotora. The mistake, he believes, arises from their giving the name of Maria to women ; but Maria, he as-

^c Davity, tom. v. fol. 657. Maff. lib. iii. Offor. lib. v.

firms, is only a generical term in their language ; and in this assertion he is followed by La Croix. It is true, they practise the rite of circumcision, and are so scrupulous in this superstition, that they cut off the fingers of those whose parents have neglected to perform the operation upon them, or have themselves refused it ; but this is a custom, as we have already observed, common to many barbarous nations. It is likewise true that they observe Lent, or at least fasts equivalent to it, which they begin at the new moon of March, abstaining, for the space of sixty days, from milk, butter, flesh, fish, and living wholly upon dates, rice, honey, and vegetables ; procuring the honey from Arabia, in exchange for aloes and frankincense. They have altars and crosses ; but as they are entirely ignorant of every tenet of the Christian church, nothing certain, we think, can be deduced from ceremonies and usages handed down by tradition, of which they can give no manner of account, or for which they cannot produce a single reason. Nay, so far from being followers of Christ, they are, if we may credit the most authentic vouchers, gross idolaters, and worshippers of the moon, which they esteem as the creative principle of all things ; a notion extremely inconsistent with theism, much more with Christianity, and the doctrines of redemption. In great droughts they assemble in a solemn manner, and offer up their petitions to this luminary. They make a public sacrifice to her towards the beginning of Lent, and offer up whole hecatombs of goats in honour of her ; they enter into their temples whenever the moon rises or sets, and practise several other religious ceremonies, which prove them to be zealous votaries of this inconstant deity, and totally ignorant of the principles of the true faith. La Croix relates, that, at the rising and setting of the moon, or more probably at the new and full moon, they make a solemn procession three times round their temples, or moquamos, and thrice round their burying places, striking against each other two pieces of odoriferous wood, about a yard long, which each man holds in his hands. This ceremony they perform three times in the day, and as often at night ; after which, hanging a large cauldron, by three chains, over a great fire, they dip into it splinters of wood, with which they light their altars, and the porch of the temple. They then put up their prayers to the moon, that she will enlighten them with her divine countenance, shed upon them her benign influence, and never permit foreigners to intermix with them. There is also

an annual procession made round the temples, preceded by a cross, the whole ending upon the priest's clapping his hands together, as a signal that the moon is tired with their worship. Others say, that the signal consists in cutting off the fingers of the person who holds the cross; in recompence for which he has given him a stick, with certain marks, prohibiting all persons of whatever degree or condition to molest or hurt him ever after; nay, commanding all persons to aid and assist him with all their power, in whatever manner he may require their help, and to respect and honour him as a martyr to religion, under the penalty of corporal punishment, and the loss of an arm^d.

This account of La Croix is perfectly consistent with what sir Thomas Roe relates, in his journal, of the religion and manners of the natives of Socotora. From the last mentioned writer we shall farther observe, that he found the inhabitants of this island to consist of four different sorts of men; viz. of Arabs, whom the king of Caxem had sent to keep the island in subjection to him; of slaves to the prince, who are employed in preparing aloes, expressing it, and putting it into bladders; of Beduins, the primitive inhabitants of the island, who were banished to the mountains till they submitted to the yoke, and agreed to breed up their children in the Mohammedan religion; and, lastly, of savages, with long hair, who live naked in the woods, and refuse all society; perhaps the forcerers and magicians mentioned by Marco Paolo in his travels.

To the above account of the Socotorans, it may not be improper to add the general character of them given by Mandesloe, who was an accurate observer and describer of manners. They live, says this writer, chiefly upon fish, roots, and fruit. They use their women, who are chiefly Arabians, with great tenderness; but are so jealous that they never permit them to be seen by a stranger. As they are crafty and deceitful themselves, so they are suspicious of the same insincerity in others; they adulterate their commodities, and expect that those they deal with have done the same. The island affords some indifferent oranges, tobacco, citrons, and cocoa-nuts; but they seldom come to maturity, on account of the stony, dry, and sandy soil. Their chief commodity is aloes; and they have also dragons blood, and keep great numbers of civet-

^d La Croix, *ibid.* Tensel. in Vit. Xav. lib. i. cap. 8.

cats; so that this commodity may be purchased at Socotora for three or four crowns per ounce; but, unhappily, there is no method of being secured from fraud; for they find means of adulterating even the civet.

The Socotorans have no wild fowl, and great scarcity of tame; yet are not destitute of cows, camels, asses, and sheep, with goats, whose hair upon the thighs is curled in the manner in which satyrs are painted. Their arms are swords with large hilts, without a guard, poniards with long blades, which they constantly wear stuck in their girdle, and fire-arms, which they manage with some dexterity, but cannot keep in order, or free from rust; so that in a few weeks they are rendered useless. They are remarkably expert in the use of small bucklers, which they wield in such a manner as to protect every part of the body. Though they live in an island, and trade with the continent, they are ignorant of navigation, and have no other vessels than flat-bottomed fishing-boats, with which, however, they weather great storms. The torrents that tumble down from the mountains like rivers, either in rainy weather, or when the snow on the tops of the mountains is melted by the sun, sufficiently supply foreign shipping with water. Though they are Mohammedans, yet they worship the sun and moon; Christians or infidels, their religion is a strange mixture of truth and infidelity. But one would imagine that idolatry and paganism prevail, from the solemn processions and sacrifices made to those luminaries.

Between Socotora and Cape Gardafui stands another island, called Abdal Kurin, possessed chiefly by Arabs, whose manners have nothing particular. Of this island we find no mention made in voyages, or by geographers.

The next we meet, according to Jean de Castro, an accurate Portuguese voyager, are a cluster of small islands, called the Seven Sisters, or, as others imagine, the Two Sisters, between Socotora and the island of Abdal Kurin; besides Sarbo, Shama, Dallaka, and Massua, on the Abyssinian coast; all of them inhabited, well-watered with wells and rivulets, stocked with cattle, and covered with grain, grass, and fruit-trees^f.

^f Prevost, tom. i. p. 192.

S E C T. II.

*The Islands of St. Mary, Bourbon, Maurice, and Re-derigne.**St. Mary
Island.*

WE next come to the islands situate round Madagascar; and first to the island of St. Mary, called by the islanders, and the inhabitants of Madagascar, Nossi Ibrahim, or the Isle of Abraham, lying betwixt 16 and 17 degrees of north latitude, opposite to the mouth of the river Mananghara, and about two leagues from the shore. The length from north to south is about eighteen leagues, and its breadth near three from east to west. To the south of it there stands a small island, separated by a narrow canal, not above three fathom over, so fertile, rich, and abundant, in grass, fruits, &c. that the inhabitants of St. Mary send their cattle hither to fatten, and lay out large plantations of rice, corn, roots, and fruits; notwithstanding which they have not thought proper to plant any colony in it. This is probably the same island which Flacourt places in the bottom of the bay of Antongil, which he highly praises for its beauty and fertility, as well as for the safety of its harbour, once much frequented by the Dutch, in their early voyages to the East Indies^s. As to the island of St. Mary, it is surrounded by rocks, over which canoes pass when the sea is high; but at low water they are covered scarcely with a foot of water, which renders the coast dangerous, and, except in certain places, inaccessible to shipping. On every part of the coast, large quantities of white coral, and great variety of shells, of the most beautiful shapes and colours, are found, which the natives used to carry to the French factory at Madagascar, and now sell to such of the European shipping as happen to touch there. The whole island is divided by rivers, brooks, and running springs, that give fertility to the soil, and beauty to the scene, enriched on every side by plantations of rice, millet, yams, fruit, and all kinds of vegetables; of which two crops are produced yearly. Fine large sugar-canes grow spontaneously; and this island is capable of being improved into a very valuable sugar colony. They have also the tobacco-plant in greater perfection than on the island of Madagascar; and indeed equal to that of America. The air is extremely moist, their being hardly a day in the year

^s Flacourt's Hist. of Madagascar, chap. xviii.

year in which it does not rain within the compass of twenty-four hours, and frequently a week without any intermission. Their cattle are fat and good, never confined within folds or fences, but permitted to wander about at full liberty, in every part of the island; their own sagacity preventing their damaging the plantations. A considerable quantity of ambergrise is found upon the eastern shore, which the inhabitants gather to make offerings of incense to their ammonougues, or the tombs of their ancestors. There are also several kinds of gum produced here, which they use in perfumes, particularly tacamahaca, of a fragrant odour, approaching to that of lavender and ambergrise (X). Though the virtues of this resin are reckoned very inconsiderable in Europe, the negroes of St. Mary island judge far otherwise; and experience, we are told, has confirmed their opinion; for they apply it with great advantage externally, for discussing and maturing humours, and abating pains and aches of the limbs; and indeed the fragrance of the finer sort would seem to indicate other intentions and virtues, and its being applicable to higher purposes.

Since the French were settled on St. Mary's, it is become much more populous than before; nor dares the chief of Antongil now set foot on the island, though formerly he used to carry fire and sword amongst the poor natives, and was a scourge which they dreaded more than famine and pestilence. There are at present ten or twelve villages, and at least seven hundred natives, of Zafe Ibrahim's, or *sons of Abraham*. Their sovereign or chief, called Raignasse, the son of Rasiminon, that is, *chief of the race of Abraham*, is also acknowledged the head of this sect all over the island of Madagascar.

The islanders employ themselves in cultivating rice, yams, peas, beans, and all kinds of pulse, on which they chiefly live. They are particularly fond of catching by nets or hooks a kind of fish they call hourills, which they carry for sale to Madagascar; every fiftieth being paid as a duty to the sovereign. They will, on no consideration, ally themselves to Christians, though they live upon good terms with them; probably from some faint remains of their ancient Judaism.

(X) This gum, or, more in general, the American taproperly, resin, is sent over camahaca is substituted in its in round shells, and bears a room, and the most used. high price in the shops, though,

*Island of
Bourbon.*

We shall next describe the island of Mascareique, Mascarenhas, St. Apollonion, or Bourbon. The two former names were given it by the Portuguese, who were the first discoverers; the third it had from all the Europeans till the year 1654, when the sieur Flancourt, governor of Fort Dauphin and all the French settlements in Madagascar, taking possession of this, called it Bourbon; by which name it is now generally known. It stands east of Madagascar, under 21 deg. 30 min. south latitude, about three hundred and seventy miles distant from the coast of that island. Its form is oval, thirteen leagues in length from east to west, and ten in breadth from south to north; in all about forty-six miles in circuit. Although Flancourt took possession of Bourbon in the king's name, yet no colony was established here till the French had abandoned Madagascar; on which occasion a considerable settlement was fixed here in 1672. There are many good roads for shipping round Bourbon, particularly on the north and south sides; but hardly a single harbour, where the ships can ride secure against those hurricanes which blow during the monsoons. Indeed the coast is so surrounded with rocks, sunk a few feet below the water, that entrance into the harbours, at least coasting along the shore, is at all times dangerous.

On the southern extremity, there is a volcano, which continually throws up flame, smoke, and sulphur, with a hideous roaring noise, terrible in the night to mariners; no less so, says La Croix, than the island del Fuego, mount Hecla in Iceland, and we may add mounts *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*. There is an island, of which we know not the name, standing about twenty leagues from this volcano, that would seem to be wholly formed of the ashes and liquid minerals thrown out by it. In crossing over the island from south to north, we meet with a fine plain, six miles in circumference, with a lake in the middle, and a river flowing from each side, that divides the island into two parts.

The climate, though intensely hot, is healthy, being refreshed by cooling gales that blow morning and evening from the sea or land. Sometimes, however, terrible hurricanes shake the whole island, and affright the inhabitants; but generally without any other bad consequence. No country can be more happily watered than Bourbon; every side of which is refreshed by rivulets, springs, and murmuring brooks, which tumble in delightful cascades down the crevices and chinks of the mountains into the sea.

sea. To most of these the French have given names, calling them all rivers, as the great river of Golet, St. John's river, the Eastern river, and the rivers of St. Giles and St. Stephen.

The island abounds in fruit, grass, and cattle; though, before the French settled upon it, the latter were hardly known, and the country was almost a desert. It produces excellent tobacco, which the French have planted there, aloes, white pepper, ebony, palm, and other kinds of wood and fruit-trees, spontaneously. It even yields wood fit for ship-building, and a great variety of trees that afford odoriferous gums and resins; among the rest, benzoin of an excellent kind, and in great abundance. Notwithstanding the quantity of white pepper shrubs, they never could discover either the plant that bears the black pepper, or cubebs, though this last has been frequently found with the inhabitants. The rivers are well stocked with fish, the coasts with land and sea tortoises; every part of the country with horned cattle, as well as hogs and goats; the former imported from Europe, and since exceedingly multiplied. The pork here is reckoned delicious, and attributed to a very extraordinary cause; namely, the hogs living upon turtle, which connoisseurs in eating affirm, gives a flavour, delicacy, and richness to the flesh, beyond what they have ever tasted in other countries. Like Ireland, this island is remarkable for harbouring no noxious or poisonous animal; and possibly both accounts may deserve equal credit. Certain, however, it is, that, before the French settled there, no man ever saw a mouse, rat, ant, gnat, serpent, toad, or any other animal offensive or troublesome to man. Ambergrise, coral, and the most beautiful shells, are gathered upon the shore. The woods are filled with game, such as turtle-doves, paroquets, pigeons, and a great variety of other birds, equally beautiful to the eye, and pleasant to the palate.

In the year 1654, one Anthony Jameau, a Frenchman, with seven more of his countrymen, and six negroes, went from Madagascar, with leave from the French director, to settle on the island of Bourbon. They carried some cows, calves, and bulls, which they coupled with some other cows and bulls that had been sent thither five years before, and had multiplied from a very few to the number of thirty in that space of time. On their arrival, Jameau and his companions built huts for themselves, laid out plantations of tobacco, melons, and all kinds of fruits and vegetables; but all their labour was rendered useless

for that season, by a terrible hurricane, that destroyed every thing, overturned their huts, rooted up their tobacco, and laid the whole fields waste. Waiting till the next sowing season arrived, which was not before the month of November, or three months after the hurricane, Jameau and his companions had leisure to make the circuit of the island, and discover its true situation and produce. In this tour they found nothing of the smallest use in trade, except aloes, ambergrise, and coral; though they had the pleasure of discovering that the country, in beauty, exceeded their utmost wishes, and promised equal fertility. They renewed their labours, and it was amazing to see with what vigour every thing they planted sprung up, as if all the exotic seeds they had carried with them had been indigenous to the soil. Here they remained in the midst of plenty and all the felicity of our first parents in paradise, for two years and eight months, before one ship touched upon the island, or the smallest bark from Madagascar; when, beginning to grow tired of every pleasure, without the enjoyment of a more numerous society, they resolved to put themselves on board an English ship that touched there about that time, and carried them to Madagascar, then an English factory on the Coromandel coast, together with a considerable cargo of tobacco, benzoin, ambergrise, and coral, that they had cultivated and collected during their stay.

*Maurice
Island*

About forty leagues east of Bourbon stands Maurice Island, by some thought to be the true Apollonia, and believed by Flacourt to be altogether fictitious; though later discoveries have certainly ascertained its existence. The Dutch, who first touched here in 1598, gave it the name of Maurice, in honour of the prince of Orange; though the island generally goes by the name of Mauritius. Some writers believe it to be the isle of Cerne, which Pliny mentions; and is placed by the ancient geographers in 18 deg. 30 min. south latitude: an opinion that overthrows itself, as Maurice Island stands in 21 deg. of the same latitude. It is of an oval form, about one hundred and fifty leagues in circumference, with a fine harbour, says Mandesloe, capable of holding fifty large ships, secure against any wind that blows, and a hundred fathoms deep at the entrance^b. This harbour is called after the name of Jacob Cornelius Van Neck, who

^b Mandesloe, ubi supra, p. 756.

was admiral of the second Dutch Squadron that touched at this island.

The climate here is extremely healthy and pleasant: the island is filled with mountains, covered with the best ebony in the world, and various other woods of value; and watered with pleasant rivers, well stocked with fish. When the Hollanders first arrived, they found it quite uninhabited, and consequently uncultivated; nor did it produce any kind of cattle, besides deer and goats; though now every field abounds with cows, oxen, and sheep. Some of the mountains are so high, that their tops are covered with snow, and so hid in thick clouds, that frequently it is almost impossible to breathe, or to see where to step even at mid-day. Every part of the island is now applied, after the manner of the Dutch, to some peculiar use, not a spot being left uncultivated: and though the soil be not the best, yet have they raised all the fruits of Asia, Africa, and Europe, together with tobacco, rice, and whatever else is wanted for the convenience or use of life. Was the earth less stony, and, in any degree, comparable to that of Bourbon, those industrious republicans would long before now have made the island of Mauritius the paradise of the world; but, besides this, it is so filled with the roots of trees, that it is an inconceivable labour and expence to clear a plantation.

Besides the ebony of Maurice Island, it produces two other kinds of wood, greatly resembling it in quality; one red, the other yellow as wax. The woods abound with such great quantities of birds, so tame, that they may be taken by one's hands. On the coast is an extraordinary species of swan, which we will not venture to describe after La Croix, as it seems to be a creature of his own imagination; at least so extraordinary a bird would require the best authority to attest its existence, before we can believe that it is found only in this one island, and this single author.

The Dutch have a fort, well mounted with cannon, and garrisoned with fifty men; besides which there are, or at least there have been, upwards of eighty families on the island, who keep a great number of slaves employed in the plantations. Here they touch in their passage from the Cape of Good Hope to Batavia; and as neither of these colonies are well stocked with timber, it is probable they are supplied from Mauritius. It is said they have a great number of saw-mills on the coast; which corroborates the conjecture that a quantity of timber is shipped

off from hence ; but the reason the Dutch first possessed themselves of the Mauritius was, that they might have a place of refreshment between Europe and India, having at that time no other, the colony at the Cape not being established. So long a voyage required that the seamen should rest and recover themselves from the fatigue and sickness which generally attend long confinement, and the putrid habit contracted by eating salt provisions in a hot climate. For this purpose, next to the Cape, they could not have fixed upon a better place than the island of which we are now speaking, whose temperature, fresh water, fruits, timber, and secure harbour, give it every advantage over any other beyond the Cape.

*Roderiguez
island.*

Under the latitude of 19 deg. 50 min. south stands the island of Diego Roderiguez, about twenty-two leagues east of Madagascar, says La Croix ; though Roberts, De Lisle, and other geographers, place it at least that distance east of Mauritius. That it is inhabited, is all that voyagers relate. In the sixteenth degree of south latitude directly opposite to the coast of Sofala, are placed by late geographers the islands called by the Portuguese, Ilhas Primieras ; and other islands, called Angoxas, in number four, opposite to Mozambique (Y).

Here also are several small islands, called Utiques, placed by La Croix, opposite to Cape St. Sebastian on the coast of Sofala, and under the latitude of 24 deg. nine miles from the continent ; yet these we have reason to believe to be the little cluster of islands which stand off St. Sebastian, on the north-west end of Madagascar, east of the Comorro islands. They produce rice, millet, and great abundance of cattle ; there is also ambergrise found on the sea-coast, which the Moors collect and export to different parts of the continent. But the most precious commodity of these islands are pearls, which might turn to good account, if the natives understood their value, and did not spoil their colour and transparency, by boiling the oysters in which they are found. In this kind of merchandize do the inhabitants, who are all Mohammedans, traffick with the neighbouring islands, with Madagascar, and the continent.

(Y) We cannot help taking notice of the ignorance or carelessness of most of the modern compilers, both French and English ; an instance of which now occurs ; some of them placing these islands west, and others east, of Madagascar. Certain it is, that all the best maps place Roderiguez east of the Mauritius.

S E C T. III.

The Island of Madagascar.

THIS great island, the largest in the world, called *Madagascar island.* generally by geographers Madagascar, and, in the language of the country, Madecase; or, according to Thevet, Albargra; and by the Persians and Arabians, Sarandib, was discovered by Laurence Almeida, who first anchored here, A. D. 1506. *Different names, and discovery, of it.*

He commanded a fleet of eight ships, and was son of Francis Almeida, the first viceroy sent to the East Indies by the king of Portugalⁱ. The Portuguese denominate Madagascar, *Ilha de San Leoranzo*, or island of St. Laurence; notwithstanding the island was sufficiently known, and the former name established among the Europeans. Whether it obtained the name of St. Laurence, from Laurence Almeida the discoverer, or from the day of the discovery, is uncertain: the more probable opinion is the latter, from a prevailing custom among the Portuguese and Spaniards, of calling all their new acquisitions by the name of the saint on whose festival they were made.

Gaspar de San Bernardino, in his travels by land to India, following Damiano de Goetz, pretends that the sea-coasts were discovered A. D. 1508; that, shortly afterwards, Rui Pereira de Coutinbo travelled through the interior parts; and that Tristram De Cunha sailed afterwards round the island by command of Alphonso D'Albuquerque. Many have been of opinion that this island was known to the ancients: that Pliny called it *Lerne*, and Ptolomy, *Menuthias*; but it is certain that the ancients had no knowledge of any southern country beyond *Sierra Leona*.

The island extends in length from north-north-east to south-south-west beyond the line, and begins, says Flacourt, from the north point in 11 deg. by the account of Francis Cauche, in 12 and some minutes; or according to Pyrard, in 14, and ends in the south point in 26; which is from Cape St. Sebastian to Cape St. Mary. The distance, according to Linschoten, from Cape Corienthas, on the continent in Africa, is a hundred and twenty-six leagues, from the coast of Sofala a hundred and ten, and forty-four from Mozambique. *Situation,*

ⁱ Soric, Hist of Portugal, part i. p. 248. Linschot. Dapper, La Croix, & mult. al.

*Extent of
the coast.*

The length from south to north is two hundred German leagues; and according to Linschoten, two hundred and twenty; breadth seventy; and circumference six hundred (Z). The sea rolls with great rapidity, and is exceeding rough at the flowings and ebbings of the tide, between the island and continent of the Cape of Good Hope, forming a channel or passage, which, at the western entry, is eighty-five leagues broad; in the middle, where narrowest, and opposite the island Mozambique, forty-four; but farther on east-ward is extremely wide, and contains many islands. All European ships, in their voyages to and from India, unless forced by storms into other courses, generally sail through this channel.

Figure.

The eastern coast of this island extends directly from north-north-east to south-south-west, from Cape Itapore, or Fitorah, situated in 25 deg. 6 min. of south latitude, to the bay or gulf of Antongil, and from thence directly north to the end of the island. From Cape Itapore to the country of Caremboule the coast extends westward, and forms in a manner the figure of a quarter of a circle. From Caremboule to the mouth of the river Sacabiti, the coast extends north-west; and from Sacailte to the 17th degree of south latitude, almost north, inclining a little eastward; and from thence to 14 deg. directly north, the extremity of the island.

The whole coast is divided by rivers, which have their springs in the inland countries, and discharge themselves into the sea. There are many bays and gulfs, abounding in good roads and harbours; the greatest part of the south coast, from Cape Itapore to Caremboule, was inhabited by Europeans, chiefly French, who abandoned the island, through the mismanagement and bad conduct of the directors of their East India company.

*French first
in possession.*

In this part is the bay or gulph of Dauphin, thus named from Fort Dauphin, erected near this place; in the language of the country, Tholangare, situated between two points; one is Cape Itapore, in 25 deg. 30 min. of south latitude; the other called the point of the bay Tholangare, or Dauphin, in 25 deg 10 min. of the same latitude. The bay of Caremboule is thirty leagues from Fort Dauphin, and is known to Europeans by the name of the Dutch Burying-ground; a body of Dutch, who had escaped shipwreck, being in this place massacred by the natives of

(Z) Francis Cauche makes hundred and sixty, and breadth the circumference amount to in one place, a hundred French eight hundred, length to two leagues.

Caremboule.

Caremboule. There is another bay in the south point of Madagascar, called the bay of the Sun.

The French claim the honour of first discovering the maritime countries between the bay of Antongil and the bay of St. Augustin, although the Portuguese, in all their voyages to the East Indies, have constantly, since the year 1506, anchored in this island, and improved their discoveries. The Dutch have followed their example; yet neither have ever penetrated so far into the country as the French^k.

Great quantities of iron and steel are found throughout this island, which their artificers forge and purify with little difficulty and labour. They reduce the ore, as brought from the mines, into powder, upon burning coals, place it between four stones, which are clayed round for the purpose, and, by continual blowing underneath with bellows, made in the shape of gun-barrels or water-pumps, the ore runs in less than an hour, the metal is afterwards extracted, and, by great heat, is formed into bars of three or four pounds weight. The provinces of Mahafalle, Anachimouffi, Ivoronheoc, Icondre, and Monamboule, abound in mines of fine steel; and in all parts of Amboul, Anossi, Matatana, and Mangabei, the iron is of such excellency as to differ very little from steel. *Steel mines.*

There are no silver, copper, lead, or tin mines; though Offorio, upon what authority we cannot say, affirms that there are several of the former; but if La Croix and his author may be depended upon, what silver there is in the island was chiefly cast upon the coast by a Dutch East India wreck. Mr. Drury confirms Offorio's account, and speaks of silver in the mountainous and inland parts of the country, and of a white metal, much like British tin^l. *Silver.*

There are in Madagascar three sorts of gold; the country gold, called malacassa, is of a different nature from the gold made use of in Europe, pale, and as easy to be cast as lead; an ounce is worth no more than twenty florins. The gold from Mequâ, called voulameneraaca, was brought by the Rhoandrians, and is good and fine; the third sort is that imported by the Christians, called voulamen-voutrouva. The malacassa gold is that which was formerly found in the country, of which there are mines in the province of Anossi, and in every quarter of *Gold.*

^k Rennefort, La Croix, &c.
p. 284. History of Madagascar, p. 393.

^l Hist. of Portugal, part i.

the island, if credit may be given to the Negroes. This gold is of three kinds, one sort exceedingly fine, called liteharonga; another coarser, called voulamenefoutchi; and a third, a middling sort between the preceding two, called ahetslavau.

Precious stones.

The rivers and brooks are rich in various kinds of precious stones, in crystal, topazes, granates, amethysts, eagle-stones, emeralds, sapphires, hyacinths, jaspers, and blood-stones called by the natives rhahamanga, cornelians, and touchstones.

Qualities of the water.

The waters in several provinces are extremely particular, running under-ground, and afterwards appearing impregnated with the juices they draw with them; and in this manner receiving the different tastes and qualities inherent in the metals and places through which they flow. In the valley of Amboula is a fountain of hot water, esteemed a sovereign remedy against all disorders proceeding from cold in the nervous parts. The same water, taken inwardly, cures asthma, and all disorders of the lungs, removes obstructions in the loins and spleen, and expels the gravel.

There are in several places mineral springs; a brook runs in the province of Anossi, near Fort Dauphin, whose water the French and Negroes call iron-water. Near the valley of Amboule springs of salt-water are found upon a high mountain, sixty miles distant from the sea, and the natives make salt of those waters. There is a spring likewise upon a mountain near Manghafia, whose water produces pitch. Eastward of Mount Hiela are streams of white water, with the taste and smell of brimstone; and, in the provinces of Houlove and Ivoronheoc, the ditches are full of saltpetre. These are convincing proofs that almost every species of mineral lie concealed in the bowels of this island.

Division of the island into twenty-eight provinces.

Madagascar is divided into twenty-eight provinces; Anossi or Carcaussi, Manatengha or Manampani, the valley of Amboule, the country of Vohitsbang, Itomampo, Icondre, Vatemahanon, Anachimoussi, Eringdrane, Vohits-Anghombe, Manacarongha, Matatan, Antavaree, Ghallemboulou, Tametavi, Sahaveh, Vouloulou, Andovouche, Manghabei, Adcimou, Mandrerei, Ampatre, Caramboule, Mahafalle, Houlove, Sivah, Ivoronheoc, and Machicore.

Rivers.

The chief rivers in this island are those of the Franchere, Acondre, Imanhal, Manambatou, Manghafia, Harangazavac, Fautac, and Sauma, in the province of Anossi; Manampani, in the province of Manatengha. In the province

vince of Vohitsbang the rivers Manatengha, Aviboul, Andraghinta, Sandravinangha, Manambondrou, Massianach, and Mananghare. In the provinces of Itomampo, Icondre, Vatemahanon, Manamboul, and Anachimoussi, the rivers Itomampo, Jonghainou, Maropie, and Mangharac. In the provinces of Manacharongha and Matatana, the river Mananghare. In the provinces of Antavare, Anachimoussi, and Ambohittma, the rivers Avibahe and Sacavil. On the coast of Tametavi, to the bay of Antongil, the rivers Mananghourou, Manansatra, Morimbo, Simiamé, and Mananghare. In the provinces of Ampatra, Mananghare, and Caremboule, the river Mandrerei. In the provinces of Mahafalle, Houlouve, Ivoronheoc, the river Jonghelahe. In the province of Machicor, the rivers Onghalahe, Ranoumene, Ranoumainthi, Sahavianha, Soumaudo, Manatang, and Mansiatre.

The province of Anossi, or Carcaussi, or Androbeizaha, situated in 23 deg. 18 min. of latitude, extends from the province of Manatengha to the river Mandrerei in 26 deg. Most of the several rivers above mentioned which water this province, run into the Franchere, Ramevate, or Immour, whose spring is in the mountain Manghage, and discharges itself into the sea in 25 deg. 18 min. of south latitude, two small leagues from Fort Dauphin, having received the rivulets Acondre, Imanhal, Manambatou, Andrayoule, and several others, which run down the different mountains in this province, and are enlarged by the mixture of their waters. The mouth is often stopped, and the course of the sea interrupted, unless kept open by the overflowings of great rain and high tides. The water runs salt one league above the mouth, and particularly in a free communication with the sea. A lake is formed at the mouth, called Amboue, half a league wide, and with depth sufficient for any ship if the mouth was constantly open.

The province of Anossi.

Crocodiles breed in this and every river in the island. The French call the cape, half a league distant from the mouth of the Franchere, and which, from the north-west along the coast, runs six or seven leagues into the sea, St. Romain, and the Negroes Cape Ramevate, or Hehoale. When the Cape is passed, the coast forms a great bay in the shape of a cross, which extends to the point of the river Dian Panrouge, or Pitorah. The land runs out in the middle of this bay, and almost forms a peninsula, called Tholangare. Fort Dauphin lies to the north of this peninsula, and Port Dauphin over-against it. The French call this bay or gulf, from Tholangare to the river

Cape St. Romain.

river **Dian Panrouge**, Dauphin Bay ; and the country lying between the coast of Tholangare and Cape St. Romain, the bay of Sivoure, from a lake of that name, which overflows in great rains, and forms itself by six or seven rivulets running into it. The other point of Dauphin Bay is called Cape Itapore; and near it is another great bay, called the bay of Louca and Itapore, from the name of a river, which running from the spring in the adjacent mountains, discharges itself in this place into the sea, in 25 deg. of latitude. This bay is convenient for shipping and boats, which may ride there with great safety, though the entrance is rocky and dangerous. A small island, called by the French St. Clare, lies near, and behind that a harbour. The river Manghafia is next, and runs cross a bay of the same name into the sea, and large ships may anchor there: the river is in 24 deg. 30 min. is navigable, and its spring is in Mount Siliva. About half a league farther to the north-west is another small river, called Harangazavac. Manambatou, remarkable only for the rocks at the entrance, is a league and a half from the river Manghafia. The two following small rivers, Fautac and Sama, have no mouth, but when swelled by heavy rains, run into the sea. This province includes several islands and peninsulas along the coast. The country is beautiful and fertile in pastures for cattle, and abounds in fruit-trees, and if carefully cultivated would produce every necessary for life, surrounded by high mountains, and diversified by numerous hillocks and fruitful plains.

*Fertility
and pas-
turage.*

*Towns on
the river
Franchere*

There are several towns on the river Franchere, and other rivers that flow into it, which belong to the chief of the country: the most remarkable are Franchere, Imanhal, Cocombes, Andravoule, Ambonnetanha, Maromamou, Imours, Marofoutouts, and Fananghaa, besides numerous villages and hamlets throughout the country. Hatore is seven leagues from Fort Dauphin, under the government of the dian of Mandonbouc. The Portuguese formerly had a fort near this place, on the top of a steep rock, and several buildings below with inclosures, that furnished all sorts of provision for their subsistence, but were massacred by the neighbouring people.

The mountains in the province of Anossi are covered with wood and shrubs; and about four leagues distant from Fort Dauphin, the adjacent hills are quite destitute of trees. The French often dug in this neighbourhood, expecting to meet with gold and silver mines, and were extremely fond of a particular place at no great distance, where springs of running water flow near each other, and empty

empty themselves in one river. They found in this river several stones and heaps intermixed with yellow clay, and a great quantity of black and white spangles shining like silver, which they carefully pounded and washed; but the separated matter proved too light. About sixty yards above these springs, to the top of the mountains, the grass, and every sort of vegetable, appears half dried and yellow, from a metalline sulphur which gives that colour; but the top is covered in every part with a verdure both fresh and delightful. It is reported that the Portuguese, who dug at the foot of this mountain, on the north side, found gold; and that the place where they dug, after they had been driven out by the chiefs of the country, has been since filled up.

Whites and Negroes inhabit this province; the Whites are distinguished, and form three estates or different degrees, by the names of Rohandrians, Anacandrians, and Ondzatfi; the Negroes are also subdivided into four classes, viz. Voadziri, Lohavohits, Ontsoa, and Ondeves. The Whites, who came and settled in this island about two hundred years ago, are distinguished by the name of Zaferamini, or Rahimina, from Imina, the mother of Mohammed; or, according to others, Zaferamini, or race of Ramini, from whom they say they descend; or from Ramnania, the wife of Rahourod, the father of Rahazi, and of Racouvatsi. The Rohandrians are distinguished from the other Whites, or Zaferamini, who are the first in dignity and credit above all the people of this province; and when they proceed to the election of a king, whom they style ompiandrian, or dian Bahouache, the sovereign is chosen from the Rohandrian race; next to him the others hold the rank of princes, and are honoured as such by all the subjects. The Anacandrians are descendents of the chiefs, but who have degenerated, as the bastards from ces, or sprung from a Rohandrian, Anacandrian, or Ondzatfi black woman. These are likewise known by the name of Ontampassemaca, or people from the sandy parts of Mecca, from whence they report they came with the Rohandrians. The hair of the Anacandrians is long, and hangs down in curls, like the Rohandrians, with red skins. Both enjoy the privilege of killing beasts. The Ondzatfi, the lowest of these people, are descended from the bastards of the Anacandrians, and the offspring of those sailors who brought the Zaferamini to this country, or their predecessor Dian Racoube, or Racouvatsi. The skin of the Ondzatfi is red, and their hair like that of the Rohan-

Three different sorts of white inhabitants.

Four different sorts of Negroes.

Rohandrians and Anacandrians; they are permitted to kill no animal, except a chicken, and are all fishermen.

The Negroes, in the language of the country called Outon Mainthi and Marinh, are distinguished into four classes, as above mentioned. The Voadzini, the most powerful and richest of the Negroes, are masters of several villages, and descend from the original lords of the country, reduced under the dominion of the Zaferamini, who came and settled there: they enjoy the privilege of killing beasts, their own, or subjects or slaves property, when at a distance from the Whites, or Zaferamini, and no Rohandrian or Anacandrian is in the village. The Lohavohits are also chiefs among the Negroes, and descendents from the Voadziri, with this difference, that one commands a whole district, and the jurisdiction of the others extends over their own village and family. They are also permitted to kill those beasts they intend to eat, when at a distance from the Whites. There are many, notwithstanding, who affirm, that they have no power to kill either ox or cow, though their own property, but are obliged to send for a Rohandrian or Anacandrian for that purpose; rich as they are, having stocks of eight hundred head of cattle. The Ontsoa are near relations, and next to the Lohavohits. The Ondeves, the lowest of all in the sense of the name, Ondeve signifying a *lost man*, are originally slaves by father and mother, bought or made prisoners in war. The Anacandrians and Ondzatsi, or Voadziri, and Ontsoa, in the hour of death, have the greatest difficulty to resign themselves; they cannot support the separation from their children, and part in the greatest concern and anguish of mind; being certain that the chiefs, to whom they are subject, never fail, according to custom, to rob them of their cattle and every thing they possess, leaving a bare and naked field for them to cultivate with rice, and to plant all other necessaries for their support. The Voadziri, Lohavohits, and Ontsoa, enjoy the liberty of submitting themselves, upon the death of their lord and king, to any chief they please; and the new lord, in consideration and return for such homage, makes them a present, by virtue of which he becomes heir again to all their possessions upon their demise. The Ondeves have no such liberty; but in dearth and times of famine, the chiefs are obliged to support and subsist them; which protection, if refused, they have the privilege of giving themselves to new masters.

These

These people have neither religion or temple ; they keep up a custom of immolating beasts on particular occasions, in sickness, on planting yams or rice, on assemblies, and circumcision of children, on declarations of war, first entry into new-built houses, and on the funerals of their parents. They offer the first-born beast to the devil and to God, naming the devil first in this manner, Dianbilis Aminan-habare, or *Lord Devil and God*. They inherit this superstition from their Mohammedan ancestors, and their doctors, called ombiaffes, who are the greatest impostors.

Offerings to God and the devil.

The country of Anossi was under the dominion of the French, and chiefs that resided near the coast ; and, before the French took possession, had been governed by the Zaferamini, under a prince, whom they not only honoured as a king, but as God : his name was Andian Ramach ; and when he died, Andian Maroarive, who was a Christian, had been baptized at Goa, brought up by the Jesuits, and subsisted by the viceroy there, was sent into his own country, and delivered to his father Andian Thianban. He had been instructed in the Christian religion, could read and write in the European manner, and give an account of his faith ; but, being with his father, returned to his former Paganism, and was killed by a musket-ball, when the French attacked the town of Franchere, the place of his residence.

Ancient government.

In the year 1642, captain Rivault obtained leave and privilege from cardinal Richlieu, for two years, exclusive of all others, even the partners, to send ships and forces to Madagascar, and the neighbouring islands, in order to establish a colony, plantation, and commerce, who erected a society for this purpose, under the name of a French East India company ; and the grant was drawn out with an addition of ten years more privilege, to the year 1661.

Captain Rivault privileged to sail thither.

The company, in March 1642, sent the first ship under the command of captain Coquet, who was going to load ebony at Madagascar on his own and some private merchants account, with two governors, whose names were Pronis and Fouquenberg, and twelve Frenchmen, to remain there, and wait the arrival of a ship, which was to sail from France in November. Coquet arrived in September, having in his way anchored at the islands of Mascarenha and Diego des Rois, and took possession of them in the king's name, and sailed farther on towards St. Mary's Island and the bay of Antongil, where he did the same. Fouquenberg and Pronis stopt at length in the

Takes possession in the king's name.

French opposed at their first landing.

port of St. Lucia, or Manghafia. The ship St. Laurence, sent by the company under the command of captain Giles Resimont, arrived on the first of April following at Madagascar, at the time that Coquet was gone to load in the provinces of Anossi and Matatane. Resimont brought seventy fresh men for Pronis, who lay sick near a month at Manghafia, by the bad air and situation of the place, where a third part of his men died. The Negroes, encouraged by the Whites, meditated an opposition on the first arrival of the French; but the design was stifled in its birth, by the diligence and presents which Pronis made to Dian Ramach, lord of the country. Upon this success, Pronis sent twelve Frenchmen to settle and erect buildings in the province of Matatane. Upon their arrival, a party advanced about eighteen leagues into that province, towards Mannzari, to buy rice and other provisions, and to discover the country; but six were killed in crossing a river by the chiefs of those places, who had assembled in great numbers, under Zaze Rahimina, a near relation to Dian Ramach, and to the chiefs of the province of Anossi. Rezimont's son, and six sailors, employed in loading ebony, were also destroyed in the province of Vohitsbang. This opposition was owing to the intrigues of the chiefs of Anossi, who, not daring to undertake any thing openly in their own provinces, for fear of making the French their enemies, had secretly instigated the neighbouring chiefs. Rezimont loaded as much ebony afterwards as was possible, and sent six more Frenchmen into Anossi; where Pronis was at that time, who had never changed his residence during the absence of Rezimont; but, having withdrawn from Port St. Lucia, or Manghafia, went with all his forces to the bay of Tholangare, in the province of Anossi (A), where, about the year 1644, they began to fortify themselves; and, having reduced almost the whole province by force of arms, built a fort in 25 deg. 6 min. of south latitude, and named it Fort Dauphin, most ad-

Fort Dauphin erected.

(A) The French landed two hundred men, well-armed and provided with store of ammunition, and other necessaries for building, and immediately began a fort. This created a war, in which the French were victors, and suppressed the natives, who in time became better reconciled to them, though secretly disgusted at the death of their king and his brother, and likewise at the indignity shewn to the prince, whom they sent into France, when their ships sailed from the island (1).

vantageously situated, on account of the harbour, which is sheltered on every side from dangerous winds, and whose entrance is convenient for all sorts of shipping. Fort Dauphin, so called by Pronis (B), who was the first Frenchman that resided in that country with the dignity of governor, stood contiguous to one point of the bay or gulf of Tholangare, situate in 25 deg. 6 min. of south latitude, opposite Cape Itapere, 20 min. farther. Many buildings were erected behind the fort, adjoining to the governor's house, with great inclosures, that produced every sort of fruit and kitchen-herb. In the year 1656, the fort took fire by an unforeseen accident, and was destroyed, but soon after re-established. The French kept a strong garrison, under the direction of a governor, who resided there by the king's appointment, and carried on a troublesome war with the neighbouring people, and particularly the Lohavohits. They over-ran the mountains, ranfacked the houses and villages, and carried away their cattle. In the year 1651, Flacourt, the French governor in this island, ravaged the country of Franchere, with eighty Frenchmen, and some negroes, armed with shields and darts, who destroyed, by his order, the houses and huts of those barbarians, and carried off numbers of cows and oxen. The best and first property belonging to the Rohandrians, consisting chiefly of houses and provisions, was by these means destroyed. Many of the natives conceived an extraordinary aversion to the French, from a sale of slaves of both sexes, which Pronis made to the Dutch governor of the island of Mauritius, who came there to purchase; but what provoked and enraged them most, and raised the strongest hatred to the French, was their selling sixteen ladies of the Lohavohit race among the slaves; the greater part of whom died in the passage, and the remaining few, upon being landed, fled immediately, and lived wild in the woods.

*The French
commit hos-
tilities.*

*Become
hateful for
their cruel-
ty.*

(B) The French, by their artful and cunning deportment, gained such friendship, that they married and lived up and down in several towns at some distance from each other, not above five or six in a place, in great tranquility, for some years; but at last, their fami-

lies growing numerous, the natives became jealous, resolved to free themselves from a foreign yoke, and formed a conspiracy to cut off all the white men in one day; which they effected soon after, not leaving a white man alive (2).

(2) Drury, *ibid.*

*Province
of Manatengha described.*

The province of Manatengha, or Manampani, so called from a river of the same name, which waters it, is situated in 23 deg. of south latitude, and is a fertile and agreeable country. The valley of Amboula is something more northward, at the mouth of this river.

Manampani river.

The river Manampani, whose mouth is situated in 23 deg. 30 min. of south latitude, or under the tropic of Capricorn, has its source in the valley of Amboule, receiving several springs from the mountains of Encalida, Hiela, and Manghaze, waters the whole valley, and runs its course directly east.

Fertility.

In this valley stands the large town of Amboule. The country produces plants and fruits in plenty, chiefly white yams, and the herb sesame, from whose squeezed seeds is drawn the oil menachil. The oxen and cows are extremely fat, and their flesh is excellent. Iron mines are also found here. Near the town of Amboule is a fountain of hot water, within twenty feet of a small river, whose sand is almost burning. The water of the fountain is said to boil an egg hard in two hours; and the inhabitants affirm the water to be a sovereign remedy against the cold gout.

Employment of the natives.

The people of this part are employed in different preparations of iron and steel, which they have from their own mines, and forge darts and various other instruments in a workman-like manner.

Government.

They are governed by a voadziri, whom they honour with the title of *great lord*, or rabertau, who, in cattle and other provisions, is the most considerable and richest of the chiefs in this country. Rabertau exercises sovereign authority and absolute power; but is frequently, in times of distress, surprised by his subjects, who assemble in great numbers, seize his person, and threaten him with death, unless relieved. To extricate himself from this dilemma, the chief is instantly obliged to issue orders for distributing provisions amongst them; but is usually repaid with interest, a quadruple return being made in a plentiful harvest. The people of the valley of Amboule live in great licentiousness with their superiors, and their country is the retreat for the roguish and lazy.

Province of Izame.

Izame, a small province, is situated to the west of this valley. The inhabitants work neatly in all sorts of iron instruments; and menachil, or oil from the seeds of sesame, is made in great plenty. The natives of this part, who are reckoned to be about eight hundred in number, are the most enterprising and best soldiers of the island, and

and are governed by a voadziri, a near relation to Rabertau.

This province extends from the river Manatengha, situated in 23 deg. 30 min. to the river Mananghare, and stretches up the country as far as the river Itomampo, bordering upon Anradfahoc, near the source of the river Mandrerei, and the country of Fanghattera, and includes the province of Manacarongha, near the river Manambondrou. *Province of Vohitsbang.*

The rivers that water the province of Vohitsbang, are the Manatengha, which runs into the sea with four mouths, Vinangadimo, Manamaza, Sagandacan, and Vinangavarats. The river Aviboule, which the French call St. Giles, distant four leagues from Manatengha, is navigable, and runs strait to the sea. The river Andraghinta is two leagues higher up. The Sandravinangha, that has no mouth, and runs from the mountains of Viboule, is one league beyond. Manambondrou, without any mouth also, is three or four leagues farther. The river Massianach is fifteen leagues from the river Aviboule, with a bay convenient for boats, called by the French L'Anse des Borgnes, from a one-eyed chief of the country, called Ontanallera. The country adjoining to this river is called Manacarongha. Four leagues northward is the river Mananghare, with seven mouths, almost all choaked up with rocks, which rises in the country of Itomampo, towards the east, and is made by three other rivers, the Jonghainou, Itomampo, and Mangarac; and these three uniting their waters lose their names, by forming the river Mananghare. *Rivers.*

The sea-coast from the river Manghafia to Sandravinangha is hid with the high mountains of Viboule, or Vohitsbang, which are covered with thickets, and the vallies below abound in honey. It is believed that a great quantity of gold might be found here. The whole country of Vohitsbang is mountainous; which may be discovered from a great distance at the sea; and abounds in honey, oxen, sugar-canes, yams, rice, and other necessities of life, with many iron mines. *Fertility.*

The inhabitants of this part are black, with thick, long, curled hair, extremely quarrellsome, and at continual variance with each other, on old disputes, never forgot, but revived on the slightest occasions, and transmitted from father to son. They are great robbers, and frequently steal the children and slaves of their nearest relations, even for sale and transportation to distant places. They keep up *Character of the natives.*

an implacable hatred to the Zaferamini, or whites of the province of Matatane; possessed with the imagination of an extraordinary power in them, by means of certain letters and characters; to bewitch, and send distempers and death among them. Ompizées, or *poor fishermen*, dwell at the mouth of the river Manatangha.

Dress.

Their garments are made of the bark of a tree, called *fautastranou*; those brought from Matatane are made of another bark, called *avo*. They travel into the provinces of Carcaussi, or Ampatre, to buy cotton apparel; and their arms are a wooden shield, covered with the skin of an ox, and a heavy dart.

Religion.

This country is governed by several chiefs; and the people have no religion, divine service, or worship, established; but by an ancient custom, refrain from hog's flesh; and are circumcised.

Province of Itomampo.

The province of Itomampo is about three leagues long, situated in a valley, and surrounded by high mountains; and the best steel in the island is prepared here.

Icondre.

The province of Icondre is very small and mountainous, situated in 22 deg. 30 min. south latitude. Its boundaries on the east, a little northward, are high mountains, which divide it from the country of Itomampo; on the south the countries of Vatemahanon and Machicore; on the north-west, the country of Manamboule; and on the north, the mountains situated between Jonghainou and Itomampo.

Vatemahanon.

The province of Vatemahanon adjoins on the east, a little northward, to Icondre, and the springs of the rivers Itomampo and Mandrerei; whence likewise rises the river Maropia; on the west and south to the country of Machicore; and is uninhabited, being destroyed by the wars.

Manamboule.

The east is bounded by the province of Manamboule, and the river Itomampo; the country of Anachimoussi on the north; on the west that of Alfissach, and on the south the great mountains, in which is the spring of the river Ongelahe, which runs westward into the sea of Mozambique.

Anachimoussi.

The province of Anachimoussi, about four days journey long, hath, on the east, the river Jonghainou, which runs through it; the country of Manamboule on the south; on the west, great mountains; and, on the north, the river Mangharac, and the country of Eringdrane.

Rivers.

Various rivers water these provinces; the Itomampo, Jonghainou, Maropie, and Mangharac. Itomampo waters the province of that name, and flows from the mountains of Viboule, wherein is its source, and that of the river

Sandra-

Sandravingha, which runs cross into a part called Houdre, above Ivourhon, situated along the rivers Mananghare and Jonghainou, or *Middle River*, running between Itomampo and Mangharac, flows from the mountains of Icondre, through the provinces of Manamboule and Anachimoussi; afterwards takes its course directly north; and having flowed in this manner for the space of four days journey, and winding in a place at a small distance from Itomampo, runs a short course directly west to the river Mangharac, situated about a league lower, where, mixing their waters in the river Itomampo, they make the river Mananghare, which gliding directly east and south-east, for the space of eight days journey, runs into the sea by seven mouths. The river Maropie is an arm only of the river Itomampo, which glides into the Mandrerei. The river Mangharac waters the north part of Anachimoussi.

The country of Itomampo is extremely fertile; here rice, yams, sugar-canes, and pulse grow in abundance; and there are great numbers of cattle. Manamboule, though hilly, is equally plentiful in the same produce, and has some iron-mines. Manamboule, and the following countries, are situated and disposed in such a manner, that wood is scarce, and to be had only from the high mountains. Anachimoussi produces also great quantities of rice and yams, with plenty of cattle, and other necessaries of life; and is extremely populous.

The Voadziri of Manamboule is called Dian Panohahe; *Voadziri.* and his power became great by the assistance of the French in the war he carried on against the neighbouring chiefs.

The province of Eringdrane is bounded on the east by high mountains, on the west by three great rivers, Manatangh, Zoumando, and Sahanangh, which run from these mountains through the whole country into a great bay, situated in 20 deg. of south latitude, on the side of Mozambique. It is a flat country, and of great extent, divided into the Greater and Lesser; the Lesser, where the river Mangharac takes its source, is the south, and the Greater is the north part, and ends where separated by the river Mansiatre from Vohitsanghombe. The Mangharac comes from mountains situated to the east of Eringdrane; its source is about 20 deg. 30 min. runs directly east for the space of three days journey, afterwards winds in a half-circle, and runs east and E. S. E. for the space of four days journey, into the Jonghainou, in the country of Icondre.

*Vohit sang-
hombe.*

The province of Vohitsanghombe is divided from Eringdrane by the river Mansiatre; is bounded on the north by the country of Ancianacte, on the east by that of Sahavez, situated in 19 degrees 30 minutes of south latitude, and the high mountains of Ambohitsmene extend westward to the Mozambique sea, and end on the south side in the province of Eringdrane. The river Mansiatre has its source in Eringdrane, in 19 degrees latitude, and runs between the country of Eringdrane and Vohitsanghombe, into a bay situated in 20 degrees.

The province of Eringdrane is very populous, can raise an army of thirty thousand men, and has great plenty of cattle upon the mountains on the east side. Vohitsanghombe is not inferior in numbers, and can bring into the field a hundred thousand men. The towns and houses in this part are well-built, and surpass in beauty those of any other quarter. Plenty of rice grows here, and the country is rich in cattle, iron, and steel. Cloaths are made here of the rind of a tree called bananas, of equal fineness with those of silk, which they also make; and both are cheap. The inhabitants are great enemies to the people of Eringdrane.

*Manacarongha and
Matatane.*

The provinces of Manacarongha and Matatane are situated on the sea-coast between the rivers Mananghare and Mananzari, and are bounded on the west by the mountains which separate the country of Anachimoussi from Eringdrane. The two little countries of Ivourhon and Saca are comprised within the circumference of these limits.

Mananghare river.

The river Mananghare is made by three different rivers, the Itomampo, Jonghainou, and Mangharac, besides many small rivulets, which run down from the mountains. The three rivers joined together lose their own, and take the name of Mananghare, which runs into the sea by seven mouths, about four leagues distant from each other, but not navigable, on account of rocks; nor is the river, though sufficiently wide.

The country adjacent to these mouths and river is called Manacarongha.

The province of Matatane is situated near the river of that name, which has its spring in the mountains of the province of Vatebei, and runs into the sea by two mouths, seven leagues distant from each other, which form a large and delightful island, the residence of the people of Ramin. This country is flat, abounding with sugar-canes, honey,

honey, yams, and cattle, and is watered by many rivers abounding in fish. Sugar-canes grow in such plenty, that many ships might be loaded yearly, could the natives be brought to make sugar, and were they furnished with necessary implements. The chiefs of this country enjoy a plurality of wives, each having fifteen or twenty, who live retired in separate apartments, in an inclosed place, surrounded with palisadoes, like a large town; and whoever presumes to enter it, is punished with death.

These people have neither church nor mosque, are much addicted to superstition and witchcraft, give great credit to billets written in Arabic characters called *hiridzi*, *mazarabou*, and *talissimou*: they believe some are preservatives against thunderbolts, rain, winds, wounds in time of war, and even against death; others as sureties against all sorts of venoms and poisons, and preserving and freeing towns and houses against plunder and fire, and as powerful and infallible preservatives against all sorts of disasters. These billets are set up by the ombiaffes, or priests, physicians, conjurors, and astrologers, who afterwards retail them to the unhappy Negroes; though the greatest sale is amongst the Whites, who wear them hung about their necks, sewed up in pieces of leather, silk, and stuffs. The same characters are engraved also upon gold, silver, and small pieces of flat cane, for the same purposes. The people of Ivourhon and Saca keep up, as neighbours, the same customs, and are equally addicted to witchcraft and superstition with the last mentioned people, who keep them in their errors by selling them billets for their use in the same manner.

The inhabitants of this province are of two orders, the *Zafecafimambous*, who are the chief, and the *Zaferahiminas*; both which, but especially the first, are excessively ugly, and are all ombiaffes, or doctors. The *Zaferahiminas* have been greatly depressed by the latter, having nothing but slavery in their present option. Upon their attempting about a hundred years ago to appear as masters, they were all put to the sword, except the women and children, to whom they allotted, for their residence, an island and particular quarter, which they plant and breed cattle upon, and are called *Ontampeffemaci*, or people from the sandy shores of Arabia, from which country they originally came. They arrived in this island in great canoes, sent, according to their own account, about two hundred years ago, by the khalif of Mecca, to instruct the islanders in the Mohammedan law. The chief

Religion.

Zafecafimambous
and Zaferahiminas.Sent to
preach the
Koran.

*Erect
schools for
the educa-
tion of
youth.*

and most distinguished amongst them married a black, on condition that the issue of that marriage should be all called Zafecafimambous, the name of their father, contrary to the custom of the south quarter of that island, where the children bear the mother's name; which custom takes place also in the province of Machicore. The Zafecafimambous increasing greatly, erected schools in every village for the education of youth, where they continue teaching to read and write in the Arabic language. They have an authority over other whites, or Ontampassemaci, and enjoy an exclusive privilege of killing cattle; and must be employed in that office. The Ontampassemaci are expert, and support themselves by fishing.

Rivers.

There are several rivers northward besides the Matatane, in this province; viz. the Manghafiouts, Manangcare, Mananhare, Itin, Itapoulobei, Itapoulosirire, Itapaulomainthiranou, Faraon, Lomahoric, or Morembei, and Mantaraven. The river Manghafiouts or Manghafies, is small, and about three leagues from the river Matatane. The French settled a plantation on the shore; but rocks and sand-banks rendered the navigation dangerous. The river Manangcare is also small, and about four leagues farther. Mananhare, i. e. *plenty of provision*, abounds with fish. Itin, a small pond only, is half a league from Manachare. Itapoulobei, Itapoulosirire, and Itapautomainthiranou, are three small rivers, two leagues distant one from another, whose springs are in the neighbouring mountains. Faraon, two leagues distant from Itapoulomainthiranou, is navigable for boats. The Manoufi whites dwelt along this river, which flows from the western mountains between Eringdrane and Matatane. Lomahoric, or Morembei, is a large river, three leagues from Faraon, which runs six or seven leagues more westward. Mantaraven is a small river, about six leagues distant from Morombeï.

Antavare.

The province of Antavare is situated to the north of Matatane, in 21 deg. 30 min. of south latitude, bounded by the province and cape of Manoufi: the greatest part of it is watered by the river Mananzari, whose source is in the mountains of Ambohismene, or *red mountains*, situated about twelve leagues farther north-west, and runs south-east and east. About a league more to the north is another small river, that runs into the sea.

Manoufi.

The province of Manoufi extends from cape Manoufi and Mananzari to the river Mananghourou, situated fifteen leagues farther north, which flows from the high mountains

mountains of Ambohitsemene, as well as the river Mananzari. Three more rivers run between Cape Manoufi and the Mananghourou; viz. Andrafadi, Tentamamou, and Tentemami. The river Mananghourou is the next.

Antavare is extremely fertile in rice, yams, bananas, sugar-canes, and honey, of which wine is made; and abounds in cattle and goats, and all sorts of fowls and provisions. The French discovered in this province gold-dust by the means of Negroes, who offered it to sale.

The province of Ambohitsemene is situated north and west of Antavare, and takes its name from the red mountains of that name, situated in 20 deg. of south latitude. These high mountains are seen from a great distance at sea, and resemble the Tafelberg of the Cape of Good Hope. This country joins to, or is rather the same as, Vohitsanghombe; and the sea is on one side of this long ridge of mountains, which extends fifteen leagues inland, and a flat country on the other, abounding in ponds and marshes. Here is also a lake fifteen leagues in length, and of the same breadth, containing several small islands.

Ambohitsemene.

The Zaferahongs live upon those mountains in the country of Famentara, are rich in gold, iron, cattle, rice, sugar-canes, yams, silk garments, and many other necessities of life.

Inhabitants.

About twelve leagues distance from the river Mananghourou runs another, called Avibahe, navigable for boats, the mouth always open and free; and is believed to run from the great lake, which, in its course, discharges itself into the sea. The river Sacavile flows between this and the Mananghourou; and, three leagues farther, the river Tsatsac runs into a bay or gulph, called by the inhabitants Tametavi. About three leagues distance the Tametavi, and a league and a half farther, the Ivorhon, fall into this bay, which is navigable for ships. The French call it Port-aux-Prunes, or *Plum-harbour*.

Avibahe river.

On the coast of Tametavi, as far as the bay of Antongil, are included the provinces of Vouloulou, Longue-Point, Andouvouche, and the bay of the Manghabei, or Antongil.

These countries begin at the bay or harbour of Tametavi, situated in 18 deg. 30 min. and extend along the sea-coast as far as the bay of Antongil, or Manghabei, in 15 deg. of south latitude, and border on the land-side on the mountains and provinces of Vohitsanghombe and Antsianach, next to Tametavi. Along the coast run
three

three small rivers, Fautac, Faha, Faho, and Maroharats, at a short league's distance from each other. The Anachinquets, farther on, runs into a bay named Sahavez, which is of great depth; the bottom is good and sandy, but the bay is exposed to east, south-east, and east-north-east winds.

Vouloulou. About three leagues farther north is the cape, which the French, from the form and length, call *Longue-Point*. The adjacent country is called *Vouloulou*, and is watered by the river of the same name. There is a fine harbour, situated under 18 deg. behind the rocks, which run a quarter of a league into the sea; and, five leagues farther, runs a great river, named *Ambato*, but not to the sea; and is remarkable only for rocks and sands.

Galemboulou. The bay of *Galemboulou* is two leagues farther north, in 17 deg. 30 min. very extensive, with a good road for boats behind the rocks, but extremely dangerous, on account of them and the violence of the sea. The village of *Ratfimalone* lies upon the coast of *Galemboulou*, and is known by the Europeans by the name of *St. Matthew*. The river *Mananghourou*, navigable for boats, runs into the sea about three leagues from *Galemboulou*, at the end of the bay.

Ambout-nossi. A small island, called *Amboutnossi*, is reported to be in this part; and it is said that a river runs from one of the mountains in the country of *Antsianach*, of the same name, directly west, into a great bay, frequented by the islanders of *Comorro*.

Rivers. The river *Mananghourou*, which flows towards the sea from west to east, is divided into four arms near the mouth; one of which preserves the name from the source to the mouth; the next is called *Mananfatan*, and situated three leagues from the preceding. *Marinbou*, the third, is three leagues from *Mananfatan*, has no mouth, and is directly opposite the island of *Nossi-Ibrahim*, or *St. Mary*. *Simiame*, the fourth, three leagues distant from *Marinbou*, is a great river, which continues its source to the sea, within seven or eight feet depth of water round the mouth, and is navigable for boats six or seven leagues towards the source. The river *Mananghars* is directly opposite the north point of the island *St. Mary*, and to the south point of the bay of *Antongil*, and continues its source to the sea; and is navigable for boats at the entrance.

Andouvouche. Along the west coast lies the country of *Andouvouche*, or bay or gulph, so called from many great and contiguous bays;

bays ; among which is the bay of Antongil, formerly called Manghabei by the inhabitants of the country, situated in 15 deg. of south latitude, which extends lengthways to the north, and is about six leagues wide. At the end of the bay stands an island, extremely high above water, has no plain at the bottom but the shore, two leagues round, entirely covered with the most delightful verdure, and abounding in all sorts of plants and fruit, good water, plenty of fowls, honey, and bananas ; and is to sailors the most convenient and agreeable place of refreshment. There are some rocks, and three or four small islands, in the middle of the bay, from the entrance on the north-east side. Some of the islands are sown with rice, and the others are covered with wood.

There are three populous villages situated upon the *Towns.* mouths of rivers, about half way down the bay, on the north side, and many others along the shore, as far as a river that runs to the north ; and many rivers flow into the bay. Beyond these, a great river divides itself into two arms ; the course of the one is northwards, and the other to the westward, which forms, by the division, an island between the arms. On the north side of the bay stands a large town, encompassed with a strong pallisado, and called by the Portuguese St. Angelo. Upon advancing deep in the bay, on the left hand, stands another, called Spakenburg, built by the Dutch in 1595, in their first voyage to the East Indies, containing in the inclosure about two hundred houses. There is another situated upon a river that runs west-south-west, with respect to the before mentioned island.

The coast of Galemboile is entirely covered, for about two leagues in width, with forests of high trees, and the interior part of the country is full of bamboos, or a kind of thick cane, called bambu voulou.

The soil is good and fat, and frequent rains in the *Soil.* country preserve the verdure from being parched up. The meadows produce abundant pasture ; though the inhabitants are never rich in cattle, the greatest stock of the most wealthy amounting to no more than twenty, or twenty-four. The mountains are peculiarly fruitful, and the towns in this part are built with regularity and solidity, in great taste of situation, either on tops of mountains or eminences, or on the banks of rivers, each pallisadoed round, with two gates or entries, one for the usual and ordinary goings in and out, another towards the woods, to facilitate retreats to those places of refuge and safety,

safety, when the inhabitants are surpris'd by enemies, or too weak to resist.

Manners.

The people from Port-aux-Prunes, to the bay of Antongil, practise the same customs, and are, in general, called Zafe Ibrahims, or race or offspring of Abraham, or from the name of the contiguous island Nossi-Ibrahim, of which they call themselves natives. The Zafe Ibrahims observe the sabbath-day, and disagree with their neighbours in other customs. On this account, Flacourt believed them descended from a race of Jews or Arabs, who formerly had taken shelter in this island. The men, women, and children, are much fairer than the whites of Matatane and Androbiezaha; their hair is long, and hanging down; they are free, liberal, hospitable to strangers, and not addicted to murder or theft; have a different manner in songs and dances from the people of Androbiezaha, and an observation of cadence and time, particularly in dances of two and two, and are remarkable in their stops, renewals, and motion of the arms. Love is the only subject of their songs; and the company, by clapping hands, beat time to the lascivious gestures of the body always practised in singing, which is called mangharac, or *keeping of time*. The men and women, in sickness, or in disorders of the eyes or head, variously rub their faces with white, black, red, or yellow colours. Many, chiefly old women, use colours to appear more gay and youthful. The women and young maidens here are less difficult than on the coast of Androbiezaha and Matatane, where access to them is extremely difficult from their parents care and inspection of their conduct.

Employment.

The men and women in general are industrious, being employed in the rice fields from sun-rise to sun-set. The men cut canes in the woods, burn them, and use them, when dried, to manure the land. The Indians call those canes bambu, and the inhabitants of Madagascar, voulou; where they are generally large. All other work is done by the women; the young plant rice in the ashes of canes, wetted by the rain for some time, in a manner equally new and entertaining, grain by grain, singing, dancing, and keeping time: they make a hole in the earth with the point of a stick, sling in two grains, and close the hole by covering it with earth, and pressing it with the foot, continually singing and dancing, and shaking and stretching out the head with uncommon vivacity. They weed the rice, and in harvest-time, when ripe, carry

carry it into the barns. Whilst the women are employed in this work, the men renew the cutting and burning of canes in another place: for as soon as the rice shoots in one field, another is immediately planted. In this manner, they are constantly employed, having, throughout the year, rice, green, in flower, and in beard.

The inhabitants of Galemboule make no ornamental use of European commodities, but esteem and preserve them with great care, to exchange afterwards for cattle from the mountains of Ambohitimene, or of the country of Antsianaeta. They have very little gold, and immediately buy cattle when possessed of any.

Use they make of European commodities.

The natives of Galemboule, and all the Zafe Ibrahims, refrain from work on the sabbath day, believing that otherwise they should be wounded, or that sickness would be an inevitable consequence. They do not acknowledge Mohammed; but call his followers, and all who do not scrupulously conform to the manners and customs of their country, Caffres. They acknowledge Noah, Abraham, Moses, and David; have no knowledge of Jesus Christ, or any other prophet, and practise circumcision. They have neither fasts, law, nor religion; and are totally ignorant of the true attributes of God, honouring him by offerings and victims of oxen, cows, and he-goats. They have no temples, but amounouques, or certain places wherein are placed the tombs of their ancestors, to whose memory they pay great honour; an universal practice among the inhabitants of this island. Some few remains of Judaism seem apparent through the darkness of this surprising ignorance. They are extremely superstitious, and would sooner die than eat part of a quadruped animal, or bird, killed by a Christian or any inhabitant of the south coast. None but the Filoubeis, lords or chiefs of the country, enjoy the privilege of killing any beast or bird whatever; and this operation is performed with a confused utterance of particular words, when the knife is applied, and by lifting up the eyes towards heaven. All children born on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, are exposed, as accursed, in the woods, to die of cold or hunger, or be destroyed by wild beasts. Some few have been released by women moved with compassion, who have generously hazarded their own lives to preserve that of the exposed innocent, and afterwards brought it up with the parents consent.

Religion.

Barbarous custom of exposing children.

Each town, being a distinct and independent republic, is governed by a master or lord called filoubei, a name com-

Governments.

common to all the chiefs in this part, who distribute justice in their respective towns. One of the most ancient is usually chosen from among this race, to decide all disputes that may arise, and is raised in dignity above the rest. They assist one another mutually in time of war against those of another race; and, in case of quarrels between the Filoubeis, and a declaration of war is likely to ensue, the others interfere as mediators, and use all endeavours for an accommodation; which if refused, they separate, leaving them at full liberty to act as they please. The slaves are looked upon in a better light among those people than among the inhabitants of the provinces of Androbeizaha or Carcanossi, and are not kept in that rank, their masters calling them children, and they reciprocally calling their masters fathers. They eat at table with them, and frequently marry their daughters. The Dutch formerly frequented this bay, and traded in rice and slaves. A few years ago twelve were in the bay, and eight of them died through the unwholesomeness of the country, and the remaining four were barbarously killed by a chief of the country, called Rabecon. They placed their confidence in him; but he unexpectedly betrayed them, after they had freed him from another chief, his inveterate enemy, who was killed in battle by a musket-ball.

*Slaves
treated in a
kind man-
ner.*

*Employ-
ment.*

The Europeans have, in these days, but little knowledge of the country beyond the bay of Antongil to the north point, excepting one province, named in their sea-charts Vohemaro, where the rice is cultivated in the same manner, and grows as easily as in Galemboule. A goldsmith, an inhabitant of Anossi, whose predecessors came from Vohemaro, declared, according to some accounts, that great quantities of gold were found in that province; and, what is extraordinary, that all the goldsmiths of Anossi are of that country. The east coast of this province forms a bay, which bears the name of Vohemaro or Boamaro, situated in 13 degrees of south latitude. The coast extends directly north of Antongil, as far as the north-east part of the island, called Cape Natal. The following account is of the coast and neighbouring country, from the mouth of the river Franchere, westward and northward, the coast winding round in that manner as far as the river and bay of Jonghelahe, so called by the inhabitants of the country, and, by Europeans, the river St. Augustin, as far as the river Manfiatra.

*Coast from
Carcanossi
to the river
Mandrerei.*

From the mouth of the river Franchere to the Cape Moncale, the coast extends in a chain of sands, four leagues wide,

wide, and from Cape Moncale to the bay of Ranoufoutchi, or bay of Galions, about two leagues. Some wood grows along this sandy coast, between two bays called Ambouve. Aloes, called tetech, are plentiful in this wood, growing in the parts adjoining to the country. Mozambique lies between Cape Moncale and Ranoufoutchi bay. The chief town of Ranoufoutchi is named Italy. Here large ships and boats may enter this bay, which lies open to the south and south-east winds, the most troublesome in the country, and always attended with violent thunder.

About five leagues beyond this bay, the Mandrerei runs between the river and bay of Ponds, called Anghongs, where great quantities of salt are made, with little care and trouble. This part is too sandy for rice; but cotton grows in great plenty, and a large quantity of oil is drawn from the plant *Ricinus*, useful in many disorders, and proper for anointing the hair and head. About two hundred years ago, the Portuguese had a settlement upon the bay of Ranoufoutchi, and a governor, whom the natives called Macinorbei, a name made by joining the words *mio signor*, which they heard the Portuguese pronounce, to the words *bei*, signifying *chief* in their language.

The river Mandrerei, on the east of the province of Ampatre, divides it from Carcanossi. This province, along the coast, is about twenty leagues in length, and twelve broad, from the sea to Machicore. There is great scarcity of water, which is had only from a few marshes here and there, no river running through the province; yet it is full of forests, in which the natives erect their villages, with strong hedges round them, made of stakes and thorns intermixed, and accessible only through the gates. The coast is not broke into by any bay, and extends in a straight line as far as Caremboule.

The inhabitants are much given to rob their neighbours of their effects and wives; a practice which is the cause of that irreconcilable hatred which subsists among the people in these parts, ready, upon the most trivial occasions, to break into wars, equally bloody and destructive. Their whole forces amount to three thousand men; each village has a chief, and one is raised to a superior authority and credit.

The river Mandrerei, which divides the provinces of Carcanossi and Ampatre, runs like a torrent with great rapidity into the sea; the source rises from the same mountain with that of Itomampo, and runs a great way to the south-west, receiving in its course the waters of the

rivers Maropie, Manamboule, and Managhare, into the south ocean. Maropie is near the river Icondre; Manamboule rises upon mount Hiela, runs northward crosses the country of Machicore into the river Mandrerei; and Managhare runs from the south-west side of the same mountain into the same river.

Mananghare.

The province of Managhare, situated near the river of that name, is fertile and delightful, but uninhabited, and a retreat only for wild boars and buffaloes, which abound there. Every neighbouring chief pretending to the sovereignty and property, hinders any settlements taking place, through an apprehension and fear of continual war and plunder.

Mount Hiela.

Hiela is an extreme high mountain, from whence flows the river Manampani, which waters the valley of Amboule, is very populous, and divides the valley from the provinces of Machicore and Carcanossi. There is a province to the west of Carcanossi, called Encalida; between this and the village of Amboule lies the country of Caracarac.

Caremboule.

The province of Caremboule is but a small quarter, about six leagues in length, and three or four in breadth, bounded on the south by the sea. It begins on the west at the bay or gulph of Caremboule, and ends on the east side at the river Manamboule, which divides it from the country of Ampatre.

Rivers.

The river Manamboule is very deep, and about thirty leagues distant from the river Mandrerei; its source is in Machicore, and continues its course fifteen leagues towards Caremboule. The Manamba is a small river, which rises also in Machicore, and, running to the south, falls into the sea twenty leagues to the west of Manamboule. Menerandre is another small river, two leagues from Manamba, which rises also in Machicore, and runs to the south-south-west. There are two more small rivers, four leagues from Menerandre, and half a league distant from each other, whose springs are in the adjacent mountains.

The coast of Caremboule, the southermost part of the island of Madagascar, extends from east to west, begins about the westernmost part from Manambia river to the Menerandre, and from thence winds north-west to the rivers Manamba and Machicore. The country of Caremboule is dry and barren, with good pasture lands notwithstanding, and plenty of cattle, abounds, like Ampatre, in cotton and some silk, which is made into apparel by

by the inhabitants. Numbers of buffaloes are met with along the banks of the Manamboule, formerly domestic animals, and become wild, as the natives report, by running in the forests for fifty years, during the continual wars amongst the inhabitants of this part.

The province of Mahafalle, situated more to the north-west on the sea-side, extends as far as the salt river, called by the Portuguese Sacalite, and fifteen leagues distant from the rivers Manamba and Machicore. The river Sacalite, situated in 25 deg. of south latitude, flows from the country of Houlouve, and runs into a gulph, an accustomed anchoring-place to the Portuguese, and never frequented by the French. *Mahafalle.*

Houlouve begins at the mouth of the river Sacalite, and extends above two days journey up the country. Sivch extends four leagues along the coast, in a straight line. Ivoronheoc, or country of the bay of St. Augustin, is the next, and situated near the river Jonghelahe. *Houlouve river.*

The river Jonghelahe, besides many rivulets, receives the waters of three rivers, Randumainthi, Onghelamassey, and Sacamare, and flows westward, inclining something south, from the source in the mountains of Manamboule, and falls into the sea at an extremely fine bay, which the Portuguese have for many years called the bay of St. Augustin, but retains to these times the name of Jonghelahe amongst the inhabitants; it is situated under 23 deg. of south latitude, and sheltered from the most dangerous winds, is navigable for great ships from the south to north-west, but hath rocks on both sides, which render the entrance dangerous, though there are six or eight feet depth of water in every other part of the bay. On the south side of this gulph stands a fort, built formerly by the French, quadrangular, with four small bastions, surrounded by pallisadoes, and a ditch full of water, eighteen feet wide, and two feet deep, not walled round, or built upon an eminence, but upon a level with the adjoining country, with a way fifteen feet wide across the ditch, to enter the fort. The English generally cast anchor in this bay, to take in refreshments, and land the sick men, in order for their recovery. *Jonghelahe river.*

The province of Machicore is of great extent, and of equal length with the river Jonghelahe, is seventy leagues over from east-north-east to west-south-west, the same from east to west, and about fifty from north to south, from the river Jonghelahe to the provinces of Ampatre and Mahafalle. *Machicore.*

This country was laid waste and ruined by wars; the inhabitants living concealed in woods, through fear of their enemies, upon roots only and the flesh of wild cattle. Machicore, Concha, Manamboule, Alfissach, and Mahafalle, were governed by one lord, called Dian Baluoalen, or *lord of a hundred thousand parks*. In the life-time of this prince, these countries enjoyed a profound peace, and flourished in excess of riches and pleasure; but, upon his death, a war broke out between his sons, which was carried on with so much fury and animosity, that it ended in their entire ruin and destruction.

Rivers.

Directly north of the river Jonghelahe lie two large rivers, one called Ranomainthi, which falls into the Jonghelahe twelve leagues below the source, which flows from the country of Alfissach. Ranoumene is the name of the other, which rises in, and runs from Anachimouffi into the sea, in a bay situated in 22 deg. of south latitude. Another river of the same name, whose course is west-south-west, runs into a bay under 20 deg. of the same latitude. The Portuguese call the adjacent country Terra del Gada, or land of cattle, from their great plenty. Three more rivers, called Sahavianh, Soumaudo, and Manatangh, flowing from the countries of Eringdrane, Sinaipati, and Sinaivalales, run westward into a great bay, in 19 deg. to the west of an island.

The French have scarce any knowledge of the north part of this island; and the Portuguese discovered of late years only some maritime places, as the country and bay of Pracel, the country of St. Andrew, the Cape of Donna Nostra Cunha, St. Andrew's River, river of Diego Soares; and the Cape of St. Sebastian is the north-west point of this island.

Six sorts of honey.

They have six sorts of honey, called, in the language of the country, tentele, bees honey, called voatentele; honey from certain green flies, called Sih; and two sorts of honey from ants; one sort is from winged ants, and is gathered from the hollow trees; the other sort from ants of a larger size, without wings, who make their honey in vontatames, or great heaps of earth, pointed at the top, and pierced round with holes, full of these ants; all which sorts of honey are exceedingly sweet. There is still another sort of honey, or rather sugar, being harder and sweeter, called tentele facondre; honey-flies, called facondre, lay this on the leaves of particular shrubs, and are transformed afterwards into small, yellow, green, or red

red lumps. Many, with great reason, have held this honey, or fugar, to be the Arabian tabaxir, not the facarmambu, or fugar of bamboo canes, whose juice is no better than insipid starch. There is yet another sort of honey, esteemed poisonous, being made by bees which suck the flowers of a particular tree that produces a strong poison. This tree is found in one part of the province of Anossi, or Carcanossi, and is called caracarac.

The inhabitants make three sorts of wine; the first and most common is that which is made of honey; the second of fugar, called touach, or touapare, which signifies fugar-wine; it tastes bitterish, like strong-beer, or apricot-kernel. A great quantity of it is made in the provinces of Manamboule, Matatane, and Manghabei, in the following manner: the fugar-canes are boiled in water to two-thirds; this is put into large gourds, and, in three days, the wine is so strong and corrosive, as, in a night's time, to eat through an egg-shell. The third sort is made with the fruit of banana, boiled four or five hours, a sourish wine, like cyder. *Three sorts of wine.*

Oils are of different sorts, the most common are those of menachtanhetanhe, menach signifying oil, menachil, menach-ouivan, menach-mafoutra, menach-vourave, menach-apocapouc, menach-vintang, and menach-aramé. Menach-tanhetanhe is drawn from a particular plant, called, in the language of the country, tanhetanhe, and known in Europe by the name of palma Christi, or Ricinus. Menachil is an oil from the seed of sesame, which they call voancaze; a great quantity whereof is made in the valley of Aniboule. Menach-chouivau is drawn from a fruit of the size of an almond, extremely good in liquors or meats. Menach-mafoutra is drawn from nuts, the fruit of the tree which produces dragon's blood. Manach-vourave is drawn from a fruit named fontfi. Menach-apocapouc is squeezed from the fruit apocapouc, extremely poisonous. Menach-vintang is an oil from large acorns, or mast. Menach-aramé is drawn from nuts, the fruit of the tree from which the gum tacamahaca is produced. *Oils.*

The soil is various: ther is a red earth, the same, or of equal goodness, with that called by apothecaries bole Armenian, and that called terra sigillata, brought from the isle of Lemnos; but Flacourt equally esteems that of Madagascar. The red earth is called by the inhabitants tamene, and the terra sigillata, tavelisse; an earth as white as chalk, fat and *Soil.*

clayey, and may be used instead of soap, to wash and whiten linen.

Gums.

Several sorts of gum grow in this island, which they call *lite*: some are fragrant and odoriferous, such as the *litementa*, or *benzoin*; *literame*, or gum *tacamahaca*; *lite fimpi*, an odoriferous gum of the tree *fimpi*: *lite enfouraha*, a green gum, of a balsamic odour, from the *fouraha*; *quizomainthi*, a black gum, made use of in fixing the darts in their handles; *hingue* is likewise a black gum of great fragranc; *litiminthi*, another black gum, viscous, yet brittle; it comes from a tree in the province of *Manghabei*, and is like *acacia*. The women make use of this gum in painting their faces; and it heals wounds and ulcers. *Litin bitfic*, a species of gum made by ants in the province of *Ampatre*, is white, and hangs by the branches of trees; its inside is intermixed with small ants; and is also made use of to fix darts in the handles. *Fanalouc* is nothing but a musk which comes from an animal of the size of a cat. *Varahanga* is a gum which yields an odour like that of incense. *Liturha* is dragon's blood. *Litin barencoco* is another species of dragon's blood. *Litin pane* is a gum or yellow resin, extremely fragrant, from a tree called *fane*. *Vahonlintang* is the juice of the plant or tree *vintang*, or *aloe*. *Litin haronga* is a yellow gum, which comes from a tree whose flowers yield the bees the sweetest matter for honey.

Plants and other vegetables.

This island produces in great plenty various sorts of plants, eatable and medicinal. Rice, which they call *varemanphe* and *vatomandre*; there are four sorts of the first, two white and bearded; the other reddish, without beards, and of a rose-colour when boiled. The rice named *vatomandre* grows only in winter, is smaller, and of a bitter taste. There is another species called *varehondre*, only nominally different from *varemanphe*, which is sown in the summer for a winter-harvest, of no great account, and never sown but in failure of the other. There are several kinds of yams, which they call in general *ouvi*, as *ouvihare*, of *soabei*, *cambares*, *ouvifoutchi*, *oseque*, *mavondre*, *maleve*, *randre*, and *damborn*. The *ouvifoutchi* are the best and dearest; the *soabeis* are the next, and white; the *cambares* are of a violet colour, and the rest of a light grey. The *ouvifoutchi* grow to a great size in a fat soil, and generally as large as a man's leg; one hundred and fifty of these roots are worth an ox. The *soabeis* are but half as big. The *cambares* and *ouvihares* are of equal size; one

one hundred and fifty of these are given for one hundred ouvifoutchis. Sometimes one plant of ouvifoutchi will produce two, though they commonly shoot but one; but three or four roots spring from one plant of the cambares, or ouvihare. The ouvihares are the least and cheapest, but good; they take root easier than the others, and are the common food for slaves: they cut them into four, five, ten, or twelve pieces, and plant them by handfuls to take root, and in eight months time are quite ripe. The ofeque root is a species of yam, or ouvi, with a bitter; the islanders extract the bitterness for traffick, and the Negroes make their nicest meals of it: and several, when the bitterness is gone, dry them hard in the sun, and preserve them two or three years without being spoiled. The mavondre root is a kind of rice, of the most agreeable taste; one plant often shoots ten or twelve roots, but never larger than hen's eggs; they have the chestnut taste in a superior excellence, and are lighter upon the stomach; their outside skin is thin and bitter, and they are planted whole. The ouvi, called maleve, differs little from the soabei and ouvihare. There are various sorts of ouvi that spring up of themselves, which are ouvi-in-lasso, ouvi-randre, ouvi-dambou, fanghitz, vahala, fandre, hompouc, with several others, which they eat and seek for in the fields and woods. Ouvien-passo have roots of the length and thickness of the arm, equal in taste with the ripe carembars, and grow in woods by the sea-side. Ouvi-dambous are like vine-roots, produce black berries with the taste of musk; their shoots die every year; the leaves, like vine-leaves, are unpleasant, insipid, and hard to digest, and are never eat but in times of scarcity and extreme necessity. Vahala grows under-ground as large as great bowls, the rind grey, are eaten both dressed and raw, and are plentiful in several provinces. The Ompilampes, a people who neglect agriculture, live only on those roots. Fanghitz are roots of an extraordinary largeness, covered with a reddish rind, are sometimes found of the size of a man, extremely sweet, yet more disagreeable, from their moisture, than the vahalas; and they satisfy hunger and thirst together, are of easy digestion, and diuretic, and grow under low hedges. The hompouc and fandre roots are well-tasted. The aforementioned Ompilampes and Ompizeis, who neither plant nor sow, take no other nourishment. The sonzes are cabbages, whose leaves are round, and of exceeding magnitude; the leaves have the taste of cabbage,

and the roots that of artichoke-bottoms. Houmins, or voamitfa, are small roots like turnips, about the size of the thumb, one plant producing a hundred roots in a year. There are three sorts of nenusar, with white, yellow, and violet flowers; all deemed food, and, like chesnuts, are eat boiled or roasted; that with the violet flower is greedily eat by both sexes as a provocative; the white and the yellow have a contrary effect.

*Grain,
fruit, &c.*

Great quantities of barley, which they call apembe, grow in this country, exceeding high: it is ripe in the month of June, but of hard digestion. The voanghembes are small beans, agreeable to the taste, whether ripe or otherwise, but heavy on the stomach: they are sown in June, and ripen in three months. The voandsourous are small peas, of the size of lentils, grow easily, and are sown at the same time with the voanghembes beans. Antac is a kind of French bean. Voandrou is a kind of bean produced with great ease; the fruit lies under-ground, with one bean in each pod: this, with great probability, is the arachidna of Theophrastus; the leaves, like trefoil, are three and three, without branches or stalks, excepting those of the leaves. The varvates resemble the caper-tree, blossoms in the same manner, each pod containing one small pea, of the size of a lentil, not inferior to the voandfourou: this plant is very fruitful, and grows to the height of a cherry-tree: silk-worms are fed with the leaves of

Bananas.

this tree in the province of Alissach. Bananas grow in several places, but chiefly in the provinces of Manamboule and Icondre; the inhabitants mix them in all their dishes; some are as long and thick as the arm, called ontsi; others bear fruit about half that size, some no larger than the thumb, and others still less, which are called acondres, of a green colour, whether young or old, with a hundred in a bunch: these are the constant food of the inhabitants, very nourishing, and, when ripe, roast like apples. Some are plucked green, and hung up to ripen. In the province of Eringdrane, the bark of this tree is spun for clothing. The ananas, called manassi by the inhabitants of St. Mary's island, and of the bay of Antongil, grow in great plenty; but those of that island exceed what are found in the neighbourhood of Fort Dauphin. The water-

Ananas.

melons are of two kinds, one with black, the other with red seeds, and yield great relief in the hot season. They have musk melons as in Europe, and pumpkins, imported from France. The gourds are of two kinds, long and round; the long are dressed before they are ripe, and eaten with

with milk, and, when dried, are made use of for bottles. They have great plenty of sugar-canes, principally in the provinces of Matatane, Manamboule, Antavare, Galem-
Sugar-canes.
 boule, and the island of St. Mary. The inhabitants reap only the small advantage of bad wine, from their want of knowlege to make sugar; but the wine is so corrosive as to exceed the strongest juice of lemon, and will cut through a stone-cup in a night's time. Voanato is the fruit of a large tree that grows by the sea-side; its meat, though clammy and viscous, is nourishing; the natives eat it with milk or salt; the wood is very solid, proper for building, extremely clean and smooth, and not subject to rot or be worm-eaten. Vontaca is a fruit of the bigness of a quince, its coat as hard as a gourd, full of flat seeds, the juice and soft meat; when ripe, is of an exquisite flavour and taste, and casts the most fragrant smell; but it is prejudicial and hurtful to the stomach, if not perfectly ripe. Garcias calls these fruits Bengal quinces, and Durant, marmemelos de Bengala. Its wine has the taste of beer, is laxative, and causes pain; the ripe fruit fattens the hogs. They have
White pepper.
 great plenty of the white pepper; the woods near Mang-habei are loaded on all sides with this pepper; turtle-doves and wood-pigeons feed on it, and it ripens in the months of August, September, and October. The great cardamom, or langouze, otherwise malaguet, or *grain of paradise*, grows in great abundance near the province of Galem-
Ginger.
 boule: the fruit is red as scarlet, the meat white, of an agreeable and tart taste, with black seed. There is likewise true ginger, though not plentiful, by Flacourt's account; but Francis Cauche affirms, that it grows throughout the island, and that the islanders plant it round their houses, to receive the rain which falls on the leaves, and round the bee-hives, as food for the bees. On the mountains another kind grows, called sacaviro of ambou, which signifies *hog-ginger*: Lacourt affirms it to be only the zedoaria. Cocoa-nuts are scarce, and, by the report of the
Cocoa-nuts.
 inhabitants, were formerly unknown. About a hundred years since, the fruits were fortunately driven on the coast by the waves of the sea, which produced the first trees of this kind. This account seems probable, as those nuts were seen floating near the shore, which, without doubt, came from some adjacent country, whose coast abounded with that sort of tree. The Indian saffron, which by the
Saffron.
 famous Linschoten is called curcuma and cunhet, grows likewise in the island. Saracine resembles ginger in taste and its yellow colour, is not so tart, and is used to colour
 and

and relish meat. Voatzarte grows upon small trees with broad leaves; the fruit is gathered like onions, of the size of an egg, full of juice within, like the cocoa-nut; the peel dried has an aromatic taste, and is eatable; the natives make ropes, mats, and baskets, of the leaves. Achith is a kind of plant that creeps on the ground like a vine; the leaves are round, pointed at the end, and dented like ivy, and always green; the fruit, of the size of an unripe grape, ripens in the months of December, January, and February. The true vine abounds in the country of Alfissach, and the grapes are ripe in January. Amboutou is a small plant like flax, of a bitter styptic taste; the natives chew this plant to blacken the teeth, lips, and gums; it is corroborative, and, in times of famine, is eat to support and preserve strength. Lengou is the fruit of a creeping plant, of the size of a nut, thick-shelled, and tastes like the large green plumb; the skin pounded colours black, and is made use of for that purpose by the natives. Zannale is a fetid creeping herb, in great request and esteem among the natives for the same purpose; as also for the cure of ulcerated gums; but by the use of it, the breath becomes strong, and renders their persons insupportable. There grows a plant also, which the Indians call betel, or bethre, the Arabians tamboul, and the Islanders tamboure, which they constantly chew with thyme and voadourou fruit, after the East Indian manner. In the province of Matatane, the fruit fourenfourou, or Indian areca, prevails. Banghets, called by the Indians anger, is the plant of which indico is made, in the following manner: a great quantity of the plant, when it first blossoms, is steeped in water, together with the stalks and leaves, which, being well stirred, putrify in three or four days, the water becomes, by the infusion, of a violet colour, is cleared of the stalks and leaves, and then mixed and incorporated with a proportionable quantity of olive-oil, is afterwards run off by a hole in the bottom, through a sieve, into a tub underneath, and the dye in the settling, sinks like dregs to the bottom: the water is drawn off by pipes, or dipping of rags, which are squeezed till nothing but the dreg remains; and this dried in the shade is the true indico. Fanshaa is a great and high tree, which yields a reddish liquor, a considerable time after it is cut down; the leaves are like fern, the wood veiny and hard, but soft in the middle. Rauver is a tree whose leaves, like the aloe, are half an ell long, but thinner, and made use of to cover huts and cottages, and called fandre.

*Banghets.**Fanshaa.**Rauver.*

Lata.

Latacanghomelahe, or *bull-stone*, from the resemblance in the fruit, is a creeping plant, of a white blossom, that smells like jessamin. Singofau is a large leaf, three palms long, and four fingers broad, of a plant which cleaves to trunks of trees; this leaf, bruised and applied to the eye, is said to clear the eye-sight. Rhomba is an herb that shoots great leaves, grows two cubits high, has the smell of cloves and cinnamon, and is a species of balsam. A great quantity of the eastern cypress is found on the sides of the rivers and marches, which the natives call mouyta, and use in disorders of the head. Longue, like the European soap-wort, bears a flower resembling jessamin, the root is bitter, and counted efficacious against the heart-burn, and all sorts of poison: there are two sorts, one shoots white, the other purple flowers; that with the white has the most virtue. Anramatico is a great plant, two cubits high, with shoots at the end of the leaves a palm long, an hollow flower, with a particular and most curious fruit, in the form of a vase and cover, of two kinds, red and yellow: the natives, who believe that rain would immediately follow the gathering this fruit, refrain from it upon their journies; but Europeans have found by experience these relations to be romantic, and without foundation. The flowers are full of water, and hold a gallon. Voame are diminutive peas, or red beans, produced by a small creeping plant. The goldsmiths of this country, who have no notion of borax, solder gold by dipping it in voame, pounded and mixed with lemon-juice, called by the Indians conduri, and by the inhabitants of Java, saga, who use it for weights. Fionouts, or voubobhits, is an herb bearing yellow flowers, and very thick leaves; when burnt green, it has the smell of melilot, and the ashes make lye. Fimpi is a tree of the size of the olive; the bark ash-grey, with the smell of musk, and its taste more biting than that of pepper. Flacourt deems it to be the Indian costus: the bark is dried in the sun like cinnamon, and, whether burnt or not, has a most agreeable smell: the wood is white and hard, with a strong scent; the leaves have the smell of the bark, and resemble those of the aloe; is called in the country tetch, by the ancient Greek physicians, agallochum and xyloaloe, or *aloe-wood*, and by the Portuguese, paoda quilla; the leaves are something larger than those of the myrtle, yield nearly the same odour, and occasion sneezing. Madrise is a tree whose wood is marbled, of a violet colour in the middle, and the leaves small. Hazon mainthi, or *black wood*, or *ebony-tree*; the ebony is

Latacanghomelahe.

Rhomba.

Longue.

Anramatico.

Voame.

Fionouts.

Fimpi.

Madrise.

Hazon
mainthi.

- the heart of the trunk; the tree is large, loaded with small leaves like myrtle, of a dark green, with a blackish bark, and of three or four kinds. *Anaconts* bears a fruit larger than the finger, of an ash-grey, with leaves resembling those of the pear-tree; the fruit contains a sweet and white juice, made use of to turn milk. *Tendrocosses* bears pulse. *Tarantale* is a kind of box. *Sanzenelahe*, or *fanzene vaue*, is of two sorts; the wood has the smell of cummin-seed, but much stronger; the bark, resembling elder, is the strongest: the natives grind it with water upon a stone, and use it in fevers, and in curing every kind of wound: the latter is reckoned the best. *Encafatrahe* is a wood whose heart is green, and full of veins, with the smell of a rose, like *lignum Rhodium*, and, when ground and applied to the stomach, is good against heart-burnings and faintings. *Mera* is a tree with leaves like those of the olive, the wood yellow in the middle, without smell, and hard as box. *Vintang* is a tree whose wood is never worm-eaten, and used by the natives for canoes; it produces a gum or resin, particularly good in healing wounds. The wood of the tree *azonorouts* is extremely good and proper for combs. *Tambouhitfi* is a tree whose wood is of an orange-colour in the middle, but of no use in dying. *Fatra* is the tree which produces benjamin. *Sandraha* is a straight and tall tree, the wood is blacker than ebony, without knots or fibres, and may be smoothed and polished as horn; it grows near, and in the environs of *Ranoufouchi*, the greatest pieces are seven inches thick. *Cocambe* is another black wood, like the latter, more crooked, grows in stony and thorny places, has few leaves and flowers; the wood, when burnt, yields a most agreeable smell. Some of these trees have trunks and branches exceeding large. *Envilasse* is another species of ebony, resembling the *sandraha* wood, with few knots. *Zaga* is the wood of which are made the handles for darts. *Tamboure-cissa* is a tree bearing apples, which, in ripening, open into four parts; the inside pulp is full of kernels, covered with a thin orange-coloured skin, which yield a tincture like the American *rocou*. *Anaco*, like the cypress-tree, grows by the water-side. *Affonpasshehis* bears a fruit of exquisite taste, of the size of a date. *Vahats* is a small shrub, the bark of the roots of which is useful in dying, and is easily separated from the fresh roots by water, which, when dry, must be pared; the bark, for use, is boiled in silk or woollen, on a slow fire, in a lye made of the same bark; and the stuff, in this manner, is impregnated

nated with red, of the colour of fire; and, by adding a little lemon-juice, will take a fine yellow. Tamarinds likewise grow in great plenty. The tree called anghive is of two sorts, the great and lesser; the latter bears a fruit of the size of a walnut; the first, common in the province of Galemboule, as large as hen's eggs, of a scarlet-colour, and exquisite taste: a decoction of the roots cures the heat of urine, and the gravel. Andian bouloha is a small shrub that grows on the sea-shore, whose leaves resemble those of the herb called dog's tongue. Varaucoco is a plant that twines about great trees, and bears a violet-coloured fruit as large as peaches, of an admirable taste, extremely sweet, but viscous, with four great kernels in the middle; and the wood, though worm-eaten in a year, is made use of for hoops: a red gum, like blood, oozes through the bark, thick and resinous, which dissolves by a candle like gum lactis, and has near the same smell. Rhaa, called in the country the dragon-tree, from the figure of that animal, as is related, distinctly imprinted on the fruit when the skin is off, grows as large as a walnut-tree, and by making an aperture or incision in the bark of the trunk or branches, a gum springs out as red as blood; on which account the natives called the tree rhaa, or *blood*, and apothecaries the gum dragon's blood: the wood is white, and soon worm-eaten; the leaves longer, but like those of the pear-tree; the fruit, called in the language of the country mafoutra, and by Dodonæus, and others, dragonal, has the form and size of a small pear, the end thicker, with five points or extremities, which contain a kernel covered by one membrane, of the form, colour, and almost the taste, of a nutmeg. Monardes, and others, have affirmed, that the figure of a dragon was imprinted on this fruit under the skin that covered it; but Flacourt, who opened many, discovered the falsity of this account. There are three kinds of this tree, bearing different fruits. A fat and thick oil is drawn from these kernels, counted a sovereign remedy against inflammations, burnings, erysipelas, itch, and extraordinary swellings: a decoction of the bark is good for the bloody-flux. Lalanda is a jessamin which grows to the height of a small shrub; the leaves are like those of the European jessamin, and the flowers are extremely odoriferous: they are used by the women to scent the oil of sesame, called in the country menachil. Honnits ancafon, is a small shrub bearing a flower of the smell of jessamin, but larger and whiter; the stock, which supports it, is white, and

Anghive.

*Andian
bouloha.*

Varaucoco.

Rhaa.

Lalanda.

*Honnits
ancafon.*

- Voale.* six inches long. Voale is a small shrub that bears a flower like the lirconfancy, called by apothecaries *lilium convallium*. Langhare is a small shrub that usually grows under bushes and hedges, and shoots long leaves notched like a saw, like the chestnut-tree, but closer and more pointed at the ends; the stock is strait, and the flowers, which grow without any seeming fastening or support, through the bark all over the trunk, are blood-coloured, of a biting taste, laxative, and raise a salivation, if chewed: it is affirmed, that the wood pounded and drank with water, or hung by the neck, immediately cures the hiccup. Mimbouhe is a tree bearing odoriferous leaves, made use of to gladden and warm the heart. Horame is a large tree, which produces a particular gum, known amongst the apothecaries by the American name of *tacamahaca*, and is properly a resin. A particular Indian fig-tree grows here, called *nonnuc*, and by *Linschoten*, in the Portuguese language, *arvor de rais*, or *root-tree*, from its aptness to take root at the end of the boughs: these touching the ground, become new trunks, continue shooting fresh branches, inclining to the earth like thickets, and becoming fresh stocks, multiply, without discontinuance, into forty or fifty, each growing equal in height to the first or mother-stock, and the whole occupying so large a circumference, that a hundred persons may shelter themselves from the heat or rain under one of these trees. Flacourt relates, that he had seen several in the neighbourhood of Fort Dauphin, which had produced four new stocks, twelve feet each in circumference; and that from each stock others had sprung, inclining to, and ready to take root in, the earth, at forty-eight feet distance one from the other. The fruit called the *voanounouc*, or *vounouc* fruit, or Indian fig-tree, has the taste and shape of European figs; a milky juice springs from any aperture or incision in this tree, and the bark is fit for cordage. Veva is a small shrub whose leaves resemble those of the almond-tree, of a dark green above, and white and hairy underneath, with an attractive quality. Himavale is a tree with six leaves on each little branch, placed opposite each other, odoriferous, and esteemed a good cordial. Endrachendrach is a great tree, the wood yellow, odoriferous, heavy, and hard like iron, and, as marble, suffers no alteration under ground; wherefore it is properly called by that name, which signifies *lasting without end*. Tsimandam is a tree with few leaves, useful in cardialgias, the plague, and other contagious distempers.

pers. Ferocoffe is a slender shrub, which produces small round cabbages, which are excellent eating. Mandou-
 avate is a tree guarded by a green bark, hard, and very prickly, and produces a fruit resembling filberts; the wood is fit for dart-handles. Sira manghits, or odoriferous, from the agreeable smell of the leaves, is a slender tree, useful to clear the heart; the leaves have the smell of white and yellow sanders, the bark that of cloves, and it produces a sweet-smelling rosin. Aboulaza is a tree whose wood is also cordial. Laheric is a tree whose stock is upright and hollow, and the leaves are fixed round in a spiral line, like a screw. Fooraha is a tree which produces a green odoriferous balsam, and is a sovereign remedy for every sort of wound and bruise: mixed with oil, it is used by women as an ointment for the hair, and bears a large fruit. Mihohats is a tree of a cordial virtue. Arindranto is a tree whose rotten wood, when burnt, yields a wonderful fragrantcy, and is exceeding proper for perfumes. Ouvilassa is a creeping plant, whose root resembles that of jalap; it yields a gum or rosin like scammony, and purges with such violence as to give bloody stools. Saldits is a fine woody plant, which produces red flowers, resembling feathers; the seed is emetic, and the root of the same plant stops vomiting. Pendre is a tree that shoots leaves higher than an aloe, and bears ten or twelve white flowers of an excellent odour; the women infuse it in the sun in menachil or sesame oils. Apocapouc is a tree whose leaves and flowers are like those of spurge-laurel; the fruit is of the size of an almond or nut, and strong poison; an oil is drawn, nevertheless, from the kernels, useful for anointing the hair. Ouviau is a tree bearing a kind of almond, from which is drawn exquisite oil for the hair, and fauces. Voulou is a kind of Indian cane; Linschoten and Acofta name the tree mambu, and, in imitation of the Indians, bamboo; the pith is moist, and something like milk; the Arabian physicians call it tabaxir, and the Indians facar mambu, or bamboo, and is in great esteem throughout the East. Their plenty in the province of Galemboule gives the name to the country; bamboos and rice being almost the only produce, which the natives cut down and burn, and use the ashes as manure for rice; many are as large and thick as a man's thigh, tall, black, and round, constituting the chief beauty of the country: every three years the tree bears a fruit no larger than a small bean: flour, equal in goodness with that from European wheat, might

*Ampou-
fouchi.
Anaze.*

Tavevoule.

Ouvave.

Grapes.

Tobacco.

Hemp.

Voarots.

Voaverone.

Mulberries.

*Azonva-
lala.*

Tocanhoha.

be made of this fruit. This tree is as useful to these islanders as the cocoa-tree to the Indians. It supplies materials for kitchen and household-furniture of all sorts, and for all uses, small wherries for the rivers, roofs, floors, planks, and stays for buildings, sedans or palankins, and are made use of throughout the East Indies for the same purposes. Ampoufouchi is a light white wood, easy to be worked; the ashes are proper to make powder, and the bark is fit for cordage. Anaze is a large tree, and grows like a pyramid; the fruit is full of white pith, with the taste of tartar, and of hard kernels, like the pine-apple. Tavevoule is a tree whose leaves are narrow and long, without stalks, grow round, and appear to be glued to the branches. Ouvave is a kind of reed, knotty like the Indian cane, the root fit to eat, and the wood of a violet colour, serves to dye red. Besides these plants, mostly peculiar to the island of Madagascar, there are many which resemble, or are the same with European plants. True grapes grow in the desert of Alifisch, but the inhabitants, ignorant of their quality, are afraid to eat them. The land everywhere produces good tobacco, and several kinds of jessamin. Hemp grows in great plenty, as the natives take particular care in the management of this plant, and suck the dry leaves in lieu of tobacco, which produce a similar effect, stupifies and causes sleep: old women, the ombiasses, or priests and doctors, make use of it to banish chagrin and melancholy; and, like a plant called bangué, is used in the East Indies for the same purpose. Leeks, purslane, lettuces, carrots, cabbage, turnips, anise, mustard, and hawthorns are here in great plenty. Voarots is the fruit of a large tree, with leaves resembling those of the olive, which, added to the height and extent of the boughs and branches, exhibit a most agreeable sight, and is extremely ornamental; the fruit, of the size of a cherry, with a thick shell like a nut, is exceeding bitter, and is of three sorts, white, red, and black. Voaverone is a fruit of a violet colour, not larger than a red currant, sweet and agreeable to the palate, and dyes black and violet. White mulberries are found in this country, extremely sour and sharp; the leaves are different, with a bare resemblance of the European fruit. Azonvalala is a small, red, agreeable fruit, without juice, and grows upon small shrubs among the bushes. Voatfourte is a small solid fruit, like nutmegs, with the walnut taste, either boiled or roasted. Tocanhoha is the fruit of a tree resembling the small pear-tree; it kills dogs; the tree grows

grows extremely high : the wood, of musk colour, is the heaviest and hardest in the country, and bears a fine polish. Voanane is a fruit half a foot long, consisting of four parts, with the taste of a stony pear, and is a sovereign remedy in laxative disorders. Entfacale is the fruit of a large tree, which grows in a strait line, extremely high; the leaves are few, and resemble those of the nut-tree; the fruit long, and divided into different little cells, thinner than the skin that covers them, in and outside yellow, full of seed, and some juice of an agreeable taste, and grow upon the trunk from the bottom to the top, and only fastened by a thin stalk, which is uncommon and curious : there are three kinds, that already mentioned, the second with the outside black, and the third of an ash-grey, and all with veins and fibres lying in the bark. Fonti, or dourou, is a plant that grows like a plume of feathers, with leaves six feet long and two broad, and there are many ten feet long, exclusive of the stalk, which is sometimes two feet long; the fruit is called voatfonsi, or voadourou, and is inclosed in a hard rind or bark.

The island of Madagascar abounds with different kinds of quadruped animals, insects, birds, and fish. There are three sorts of cattle; one kind horned, another with round heads, without horns, called boury, and a third kind, whose horns are loose and hanging down, and fastened only to the skin of the head; all of them having large quantities of fat, contained in great bunches or swellings, which the natives melt and use for butter, the taste being very agreeable. Buffaloes likewise run in herds in the province of Machicore. There are great numbers of goats and kids; the female kids commonly three times a year, and brings four at each time. The mutton is extremely fine tasted, and there is a kind of sheep, whose large and flat tails weigh twenty or twenty-five pounds. The woods are inhabited by great numbers of wild boars, with two horns near the nose, like great prickles and hard skins. The bacon of tame hogs is good and wholesome; their food being chiefly land tortoises and their eggs. There is a kind of porcupine in great plenty, whose flesh, though insipid and flabby, is nevertheless esteemed by the natives. These animals sleep six months under ground, cast and have new quills at this time. Vosse is an animal like the tesson, or badger, and the flesh is agreeable. Vareffe is a beast of prey, of the bigness of a fox, with a large and long rail, and hair like a wolf. The dogs are small, with

Voanane.

Entfacale.

Fonti.

Quadrupeds, &c.

Buffaloes.

Boars.

Porcupines.

Dogs.

Monkies.

long snouts, short ears, and hair like foxes. Various kinds of monkies and baboons are found in the different provinces of this island. Some are large and white, with black spots on the ribs and heads, with long snouts, and, like tygers, of a fierce nature. Others have grey hair and flat noses, and are easily tamed. Those called varis, of a grey colour, are the most common, have long snouts, and large bushy tails like foxes. There is another white sort, called filac, with good teeth, white tails, and two spots, like teeth, on the ribs; of a middling size, between the varis and varicofi, which stand upright and strong upon their hind legs. In the provinces of Ampatre and Matafalle is another white kind, with tails chequered white and black, that run in troops of forty or fifty together through the woods; and also another grey kind, with eyes sparkling like fire, and short hair, which die when taken, through the wildness of their nature. Tifsihi are grey squirrels, which keep in the holes of trees, and never become tame. Voudfira is a small animal like a weasel, of a dark red colour, which feeds on honey, and smells like musk. There are also plenty of civet-cats, esteemed dainty morsels by many of the natives. Tretretre, or tratratratra, is an animal of the size of a heifer two years old, with a round head, human countenance, the fore and hind part like a baboon, and breeds in a desert near the lake of Lipomani. The natives are frightened at the sight, and fly from it; and it likewise flies on the least appearance of a man. Antamba is an animal as big as a dog, resembling, according to the Negroes, a leopard, which preys on mankind and beasts, but keeps to the mountains, and is seldom seen. Mangarzahoc is a great animal, that brays, and is believed by some to be the wild afs. The mountain mangarzahoc takes its name from this animal, which is never seen in any other part. Brehis is an animal with one horn in the middle of the forehead, as large as a goat, and extremely wild, and breeds in the province of Anfiاناستا. There is no brood of elephants, tygers, lions, or horses, in this island.

Insects.

Various kinds of insects are found in this country. Famocantraton, or breast-leaper, is an extraordinary but dangerous insect, of the size of a small lizard, which fixes itself, as if glued, to the barks of trees, with its mouth open for catching spiders, flies, and other insects. They leap on the breasts of those who approach the tree where they are, and cannot be got rid of but by cutting away the flesh on which they are fixed. There are

are numbers of cameleons, rats, mice, and water-rats(C). Mandouts is a kind of serpent, as large as the arm or leg of a man, not venomous, though deemed so by the natives: it feeds on bats and small birds. Anacandef is a sort of little serpent, no bigger than a quill, that slips into the body at particular times, gnaws the intestines, and occasions the most insupportable pain, and even death in a short time, if not extracted. There are many other serpents, such as menore, save, mare, sfiondibale, re-neutfic, &c.

Scorpions are called hal. The sfingalaha huravou, or *water scorpion*, resides constantly in marshes and dead waters, destroys cattle, attacks dogs, and sucks their blood when killed. The scorpion vancaho, or spider, has a large, round, and black belly, and is extremely dangerous. Its bite occasions an instantaneous swooning, which sometimes lasts two days, attended with a coldness like ice. The usual method of cure is giving the remedies for poison, and placing the person by the fire. Anacalife is a creeping animal, that breeds between the barks of rotten and worm-eaten trees, as long as the palm of the hand, having many legs, like a caterpillar, flat and thin, with a hard skin; its bite is exceeding venomous, and causes the same disorder as arises from the bite of the scorpion, and death, if the same remedies are not administered. There are moth-worms, earwigs, bugs, and many insects troublesome to mankind. Acolalan is a little insect, not so offensive in smell, but like a bug, and increases in a short time to the size of a man's thumb, when it becomes winged, and flies away; the young ones remaining in the houses, huts, and furniture, and gnawing every thing, particularly apparel. Vombare is a butterfly, variegated with different colours. Others are known by the name of facondre, which proceed from beetles, and keep to the bark of a particular small shrub, appearing like white flowers. They afterwards change into various colours, chequered with green and red, and make the sweetest honey on the leaves of the tentele facondre. There are many sorts of snails particularly denominated, but are in general called Caracora. Herechereche is a sparkling beetle

Scorpions,
&c.

(C) Here is a creature that have been bit by them, and no the form of a serpent, one of worse hurt accrued than is customary from the bite of any which Mr. Drury says he killed with his own hands; it was no was venomous, Several beast.

that gives light, and shines in the woods and on the houses in the night, with a surprising lustre. Caterpillars also abound here of several kinds, called ttinggoulou vou-lou. Ants, or vitfic, and worms of various kinds, are found in this island. Silk-worms are quadruped: some, called landeve, produce one prickly cod; others, called landeseraha, make small cods, inclosed in a large one, frequently containing five hundred young; the third kind, landeanacau, make the silk on the tree anacau, that, like cypress, grows by the sea-side; the cods hang in strings, separated from each other, and the silk is the finest, strongest, and best; the fourth sort, landevontaque, make their silk on the tree vontonquier, which is also very fine. There is an ant among the rice that gnaws and eats it, called sicouroucourou. The land-tortoises are of two kinds, called hilinstoca and fanou.

*River
birds, &c.*

The island produces in like manner several kinds of river and other birds, known by the general name of vonrou in the language of the country, but of a less size than those of Europe. Hens eggs are no larger than those of pigeons. There are ordinary pheasants, and a kind with violet feathers and red beak; small black paroquets, and some of a dark red, but scarce; small green-finches, that whistle and imitate the songs of other birds; wild turkies; black, white, and grey eagles, with fine plumage; wild storks, with crests on their heads; common teal, and a particular kind with red legs and claws, called halives; pelicans, and black and white herons, water-wagtails, &c. Samba is a bird whose feathers are as red as fire. Vourouchontfi are white birds that follow the cattle, and feed upon the flies and beetles found on them, and are generally lean. Voula is a river bird, like the great pelican, with a long white beak. Tahia is a bird whose wings, feet, and beak are black, and its note always tahia. Taliva is a river bird of the size of a hen, with violet plumage, and red beak and feet. Harétac is a bird with a red crest on the head, with black feathers and feet like a teal.

*Character
of the in-
habitants.*

The inhabitants of most provinces are Whites or Negroes; the Whites are the Rohandrians, Anacandrians, or Ondzatti; the Negroes are the Voadziri, Lohavohits, Ontsoa, and Ondeves, as before mentioned in the account of the province of Anossi, like the natives of Mozambique, and resembling the whites in long lank hair.

In many places are found real wild men, with their wives and children, called by the natives Ompizees, who let

let their hair and beards grow, go naked, excepting the secret parts, which are covered with leaves, inhabit thick and unfrequented woods, avoid meeting their fellow natives, and live upon fish, wild beasts, fruit, roots, honey, and locusts. The island of Ontsayfatrouha, situated between Anachimouffi and the river Ranoumene, was formerly inhabited by a people without communication, and in continual war with their neighbours, who fought with bows and arrows, eat their enemies, and all travellers, reserving the hands always for the king's table. They fed great numbers of cows for their milk only; never killed bulls, goats, rams, or cocks, which they buried when dead; they devoured their dogs with great appetite and greediness when unfit for hunting, but cultivated their lands in the same manner as practised by the inhabitants of Madagascar. These beardless people, small-eyed, with broad foreheads, painted teeth, flat-nosed, thick-lipped, with short curled hair, reddish skin, large bellies, and thin legs, but nimble and good runners, preyed upon and consumed each other till reduced to a small number, who were entirely destroyed by their neighbouring enemies, and neither man nor woman remained.

These islanders are esteemed the most deceitful, dissembling, flattering, and false people in the world, particularly the inhabitants along the coast of Manghabei to the end of the island southward. The Manghabeians are less cruel and treacherous, speak little, are better observers of promises, follow other laws and customs, and glory in being descended from Abraham; the rest are treacherous and false, fulfil no engagements unless compelled, must be governed with rigour, the chiefs as well as inferiors, treated, when faulty, with great severity; those who are freed and set at liberty by those whom they had injured, are extremely ungrateful, and attribute every success to their auli, or *fortune*, becoming more mischievous than before; revenge and treachery being held as capital virtues, and forgiving and compassionate men looked upon as cowards. They never delay, if in their power, the cruel executions on prisoners of war, and their greatest pleasure is to cut and mince the children taken alive, to rip open the women's bellies, and then leave them in the pangs of death. They have no pleasure in exercise, either for health or diversion, employing their time in singing and dancing, of which they are very fond, believing the least fatigue, even walking, gives more trouble than pleasure; on this account they ridicule European exercises

Different dispositions.

of diversion, and pronounce them fools for fatiguing themselves without occasion.

Trade, &c. The inhabitants generally apply with great diligence to agriculture, have little knowledge of commerce, and no improvement in inventions of arts and trades like Europeans, or in discovering the natural produce, that might invite strangers to their country: they even neglect making silk, and preserving the worms they have such plenty of. Their labour extends only to the necessities of living, provisions, apparel, and habitations, for they contemn superfluities. Their chief employment is in buildings, gold, and iron works, and in polishing, making earthen ware, spinning, weaving, cordage, fishing, hunting, and chiefly in agriculture. Some make all sorts of iron and steel implements, hatchets, hammers, shovels, razors, nippers, gridirons, forks, javelins, darts, and butchers knives.

The goldsmiths, mostly natives of Voamaro, make earrings, bracelets, necklaces, and other gold ornaments, from their own mines. Potters make great and small plates and pots (D) from a clay and thorn boughs, which, being rubbed with a kind of black earth, shine like looking-glasses. They have carpenters and turners, who make wooden plates, and chests called voa, wooden and horn spoons, and other household goods. The Zaferamini, Rohandrians, and Anacandrians, are remarkable for the wood-work of houses; their tools are a plane, wedge, and rule, with some other implements.

fishing.

They fish with draw-nets, well-baskets, hooks, and harpoons in the same manner at sea as in the lakes and rivers, and exchange the fish in adjacent countries for rice, yams, roots, cotton, and other necessities of life, or dry them for keeping, and fish in canoes at a great distance from the shore.

The rope-makers make cordage of all sizes and lengths, to one hundred and thirty fathoms long; the small ropes for netting and baskets are made from the bark of different trees, and the best at Aviau and Fautastranou. Women are only employed in spinning, and making vari-

(D) They make very curious earthen ware, such as pots, dishes, and jugs, glazing them both within and without, and are very ingenious artificers in many other particulars (1).

(1) Drury, p. 407.

ous sorts of stuffs from flax, and threads from the barks of trees.

Agriculture is practised in a different manner, and with less trouble, than in Europe. No plough or oxen are employed in the tillage of land; an ax for felling great trees, a bill for lopping off the branches, and an implement, called faugali, for grubbing the roots and weeds, are their sole instruments. The arms and branches of trees, when dry, are burnt to ashes, which are used in planting yams, rice, &c. when properly wetted by rain. Near and round about the province of Manghabei, rice is planted grain after grain, and the ears are cut off in the same manner; but, in the province, and adjoining parts, of Anossi, after another method: the ground is prepared for grubbing by being trampled upon and turned up by oxen, and, when the weeds are rotten, the rice is sown, which grows with great ease, and in a short time becomes extremely fine. The fields for rice are marshes, or marshy lands, called horrac. Every horrac, or field of rice, is the property of a particular chief. The poor negroes cultivate and plant yams on the sides of mountains, and are obliged to be continually hunting of boars, and other wild animals, to preserve their plants from destruction; an exercise that is much practised on this account by the ontsoa, or *slaves*, who are the only hunters, the chiefs thinking this exercise below their dignity.

The islanders are greatly addicted to singing and dancing; the women chiefly to singing; and are very ready in composition, upon the slightest occasion. Their songs are generally replete with satire, or encomiums on the remarkable actions of their ancestors. Dancing and singing accompany each other. They make use of three musical instruments, the valiham, strung with some chords, the voule, made of bamboos, and the herraovou, played upon with a bow. The performers on this last instrument are the most esteemed, and receive the greatest applause in public assemblies.

Their houses have no upper chambers or garrets, nor cellars underneath; they consist of one floor only, called varerarai; the tops are shelving, and covered with leaves of rates and bamboos; the walls are made of two inch planks; the hearth upon the ground, about four feet square, raised upon sand, with three stones to place the pot on, and without chimnies, which make them scarce habitable, on account of the continual smoke, their fires being kept up in the hottest weather. Their rice barns

Agriculture.

Dancing and singing.

Houses.

are at a distance from their houses, raised upon wooden pillars, to preserve the grain from rats.

Furniture.

The furniture chiefly consists in red and yellow rush mats, well made and convenient; those of Manghabei are soft and strong. The floors on which they lie are covered with these mats, without bed, bolster, bellow-bier, or any sort of covering, with a piece of wood under the head. The cloaths, girdles, or saravohits, cotton, effects, and all ornaments, are kept in baskets, and oils for the body and hair in earthen pitchers. Their kitchen furniture consists of earthen pots, called villangues, louties, safes, monhongs, and fines, wooden dishes and spoons, dried gourds for water, knives, gridirons, and forks, mortars to pound rice, troughs, and winnowing fans, with large vessels for honey-wine. The leaves of rates, twelve feet long and four broad, serve for table-napkins and plates, and are laid upon mats, spread upon the floor, without table or chairs.

Negroes go naked.

The Negroes go naked, excepting the pudenda, which are covered with a linen called lamba, and saravohits, or drawers, by the women, with an acazan, or long robe, without sleeves, hanging down to the ankles, and a piece of linen before, sewed at both ends like an apron.

Different dresses of the Whites.

The white men and women go bare-headed and bare-footed, excepting those of Manghabei, where the men wear a square cap, and the women a hood, pointed at top, and hanging down upon the shoulders. The dresses are of different colours and names; some of red silk, called soatfimifili; other of cotton, called varo. These are of reddish and other colours, interwoven with fine cotton in white stripes. Others are made from the barks of trees, either from that of the fautastranou, try, mouffia, avo, courava, or threads of banana. The cotton-cloths made by the Whites, or Zaferamini, in the province of Anossi, are the finest and best, much sought after by the inhabitants of Vouhittbang, and others, who buy up great quantities; but the most esteemed are the cottons, with silk borders about a foot deep, the ground white, with black stripes, and black and red silk lace. The chiefs only, and Rohandrians, wear this upon great formalities, and it is preserved for the funerals of the chiefs, whose bodies are wrapped up therein. The garments for slaves are made of the bark of trees; which is first beat to a hemp, then boiled twice in strong lye, afterwards washed, and twisted upon spindles in different sizes, and worked up for apparel; the cloth resembles European linen, is strong, and more lasting than cotton. Those made of the bark of

of try are extremely fine and soft, but not durable; as are those of Atfouche, in the province of Matatane, from the bark of the tree avo; of which also paper is made in the provinces of Galemboule, Manghabei, and round the bay of Antongil: the bark or thin skin of small leaves shooting from the middle of the tree mouffia, which, in other places, produces only large leaves, twelve or fifteen feet in length, supplies them with wearing-apparel. The fruit of this tree is like a pine-apple. The stuffs made from banana, chiefly in the province of Eringdrane, are fine, light, and equal in beauty to the silken manufacture, and are wove in the same manner. Their ornaments, called sirauach, are different kinds of chains, worn round the neck, arms, and legs, ear-rings, bracelets, rings, and other toys, with necklaces of different names, salantes, faraves, and endachs, consisting of three or four, and even twelve, rows of pearls, corals, beads of gold, glass of all colours, rock-cryстал, agates, cornelian and sardonian stones. These ornaments of gold are only wore by the Zaferamini, who are the chiefs of the island, and the voadziri and lohavohits among the Negroes.

Polygamy is practised throughout the island, every man enjoying a plurality of wives, in proportion to his fortune. The women, equally incontinent, are never destitute of friends to soften and alleviate their cares in the gratification of their prevailing passions. These they never fail of having recourse to, upon any discovery or ill-treatment from their husbands, in return to their perfidious love. Unmarried women give themselves up in the same manner to several pleasures, are ready to every purchaser, but extremely venal in the surrender of their persons, their gallants, in failure of payment, being constantly abused and stripped, to make satisfaction. This is one of the most abominable crimes amongst the indigent negroes, who even satiate with impunity their brutal passions by the most shocking pollutions in presence of their parents, who, ashamed to be interrogated with regard to the number and beauty of their wives, yet, through amazing blindness, have the greatest satisfaction in seeking inviting objects, and glory in the licentious manners of their children. Sodomy, notwithstanding, has never crept into this island.

Freedom between unmarried persons is not esteemed sinful in respect to God, or scandalous amongst mankind; the women chusing only to marry those with whom they have cohabited: nor is any dishonour fixed by the married

*Polygamy
allowed.*

ried upon adultery ; but theft or injustice is commonly punished with retaliation.

Marriage ceremonies.

Their marriage-ceremonies are called *miracheibei* ; the negroes practise none, and the Whites, or *Zaferamini*, observe them only on the wedding day of their chief wife.

Funeral ceremonies.

At funerals, the nearest relations wash the body of the deceased, which they adorn with bracelets, rings, and chains of gold, set with coral and other ornaments, wrap it in several exceeding fine cloths, and carry it in a mat to the tomb. The hair and beards of the chiefs are shaved, and a cap is placed on the heads of women. Antecedent to this ceremony, the parents, friends, and slaves, assemble round the corpse, at whose feet a light is burnt day and night, and bemoan the deceased with great lamentations ; women, at the same time, attend, alternately bewailing and dancing, whilst men perform exercises of arms ; the mourners within doors extol the praises, and proclaim the public loss of the deceased, speak to him as if living, and ask the reason of his dying, whether he had not gold, silver, iron, cattle, slaves, or riches, sufficient ? The day is spent in this burlesque interchange of grief and mirth, and the whole company is entertained at night. Next morning the corpse is carried to the *amounouque*, or *burial-place*, in a coffin made of hollow trunks closed together, and deposited six feet deep, under a strong house, with rice, tobacco, earthen and perfumed plates, a gown, and sack : the house is afterwards shut up, and a stone ten or twelve feet high placed before it. Beasts are sacrificed, and the parts are left for the deceased, the devil, and God ; and, in fifteen days, the relations send provisions and greetings to the defunct as if he was yet alive, and fix upon poles round the monument the heads of the immolated victims. The children likewise make frequent sacrifices of oxen, and beg the assistance of the deceased, crying aloud, “ Thou, who art now in heaven, give us advice in our troubles.”

Custom in regard to sick and mad people.

The nearest relations of sick and mad persons, immediately send for the *ombiaffe*, or *priest*, in order to fetch understanding from the *amounouque*. The *ombiaffe* repairs in the night to the tomb, opens the monument, and, placing a cap on the aperture, invokes the soul of the disordered person's father, and demands understanding for his helpless child ; the aperture is instantly closed by the *ombiaffe*, who returns immediately, declares his success, and places the cap on the head of the sick person, who, if he grows better, is silly and weak enough to ascribe

scribe the recovery of his senses to these impostors, and to order forthwith presents to the ombiaffes.

Upon the demise of any person of rank, at a distance from his country, the head is cut off, and brought home; the remainder is buried upon the spot; and, in the same manner the bodies of those slain in war are dug up in time of peace, and translated to the tombs of their ancestors, whose memory is held in such veneration and esteem, that their greatest and most solemn oath is to swear by the souls of their predecessors.

Customs at the death of persons of rank.

The custom of exposing their children to a certain, though indeterminate, manner of death, appears to be the most dreadful of all the barbarous and execrable superstitions practised by the natives of Madagascar; and is the true reason why this island, one of the largest and most fertile in the world, is so thin of inhabitants.

Barbarous customs of exposing children.

They are under an obligation of exposing new-born children, according to the fatal observation of the ombiaffes, who, for private emolument, contemplate the aspects of the planets at the time of their birth, and arbitrarily pronounce them inauspicious and unfortunate.

Arbitrary sentences of the priests.

The unfortunate months are April or Safard, March or Ramahara. The eighth day and last week of every month are equally inauspicious; the first is called Assarontor, the last Alacossi. Wednesday and Friday in each week are unhappy days; and hours are even influenced by a bad vitang, or aspect of an unlucky planet. Half the year, by these ominous predictions, becomes really such to the unfortunate offspring of this inhuman race.

Unfortunate days, &c.

Yet powerful nature breaks the chains with which she is fettered by Pagan education. Slaves are often employed to suckle and bring up the children born in unfortunate times. Sacrifices, denominated falis, of beasts and cocks, have been immolated, whilst they were confined in places pointed out by Pagan superstition, to take off the malignity of the predominant star, which would necessarily take effect, were these customary and superstitious practices neglected.

Sacrifices offered for the lives of children.

The ordinary food of these islanders, consists of rice, beans, or peas, various sorts of yams, sonzes, or cabbages, and tarvates, beef, mutton, goat, poultry, capons, turkies, ducks, and porcupines. Hogs flesh is only eat by hunters and their families. Different sorts of river and sea fish, sesame and ouiveau, oils, variety of fruits, as vontacas, alamoutous, voarots, voanotes, lotfes, facols, sacra, co, and banana sugar-canes; and ginger, green leaves, garlic, and white pepper, compose their sauces.

Diet.

Hot

Drink.

Hot water, or broth, is the common drink; honey-wine and sugar-wine, sometimes intermixed, are reserved for the *missavatsi*, or religious ceremonies.

Language.

The same language is spoke throughout the island, but differently pronounced in different provinces, long and short, of great affinity with the oriental, chiefly Arabic, and agreeable to the Greek in the manner of speaking, in the order and conjunction of the nouns and verbs active, and extremely copious. The characters in use amongst the *ombiaffes* are the Arabic, in number twenty-four, witten from the right to the left, though the pronunciation of some differs from the Arabic. These characters were introduced about two hundred and fifty years since, by the Arabs sent by the khalif of Mecca, who landed at Matatane, intermarried with the women of the country, and taught the Arabic language, with the Koran, to those who embraced the doctrine.

Manner of making paper.

Madagascar paper is made with fewer instruments and engines than are used in the European manufacture. The bark of the tree *avo* is boiled two days in good lye, made of the ashes of the same tree, till it becomes soft and supple, then washed in clear water, beat to a proper consistency, and poured afterwards on mats made of exquisitely fine reeds, twisted and regularly joined together, in order to be drained and become paper; then placed on a leaf of *baliser*, oiled with *menachil*, to dry in the sun: each dried leaf is dipped afterwards in a thick decoction of rice, to hinder the sinking, and dried over again; and in this manner the paper becomes smooth and even.

Ink, how made.

Their ink is made of a decoction of the wood *arandranto*, used by the chiefs in the construction of houses, and from which the *karahe* is drawn, is dried to a proper consistency and thickness, and becomes as black as European ink by an addition of *verdigrise*. Their writing-pens are made of pieces of bamboo, of the size of European quills, cut and rendered transparent in the same manner.

Manner of accounting.

These islands have the same method of notation with the Arabians and Europeans, and reckon from one to ten, and after ten, add the number one as far as twenty, and proceed accordingly: *issa*, or *iracaich*, implies one; *rou*, two; *telou*, three; *efats*, four; *juvi*, five; *enem*, six; *fitou*, seven; *valou*, eight; *fivi*, nine; *foulo*, ten; *irac foulo ambi*, or *iraiche amanifoulo*, eleven; *rou foulo pambi*, twelve; *roupoulo*, twenty; *telou ambi*, thirty; *efats poulo*, forty; *zatou*, one hundred; *armou*, one thousand; *alen*, one

one hundred thousand. Many have affirmed, without foundation, these islanders were ignorant of numbers; but these accounts are only true with respect to the Negroes of Machicore, and the inhabitants of the mountains.

They make use of the same weights as high as a drachm: ounces, half-pounds, and pounds, are useless, except for gold and silver; other merchandize not being bartered by weight. A drachm is denominated sompi; half a drachm, vari; a grain, sacare; half a grain, nanqui; six grains, nangué.

Weights,

Troubahovache, or king's measure, is for rice; Moucha, or Monca, is a measure of six pounds of cleaned rice; voule is a measure of half a pound; zatou, implying one hundred, is a measure of one hundred voules of rice, and is made use of to measure uncleansed rice. Stuffs of all sorts, and cordage, are measured by reſe, or a measure six feet long. The marshes, or rice-fields, called horrac, are valued by the quantity of rice that may be sowed, not by roods, acres, or half acres.

Measures.

The inhabitants of this great island have but little knowledge of commerce; they exchange amongst themselves goods for goods; gold and silver coins imported by Europeans are immediately melted down for bracelets, earrings, and other ornaments, and no currency of coin is established: those in want of cotton carry rice and cattle into the cotton countries, and others, in want of rice and cattle, bring cotton into the plentiful provinces: their traffick chiefly consists in the exchange of the produce of one province for that of another; and sometimes they exchange gold and silver for copper and iron.

Commerce.

Coral of any size or colour, pierced through for stringing, sells well amongst these islanders; yellow wires and small wares of all sorts are sold to great advantage, and may be exchanged for sapphires, rubies, emeralds, cornelians, and other stones, found in that country.

Coral.

Flacourt esteemed this island of great importance for advancing and establishing commerce towards Æthiopia, the Red Sea, gulf of Arabia, and other Indian countries; that great advantage might be made from the conveniency of wood for building ships, which might be carried on and exchanged for other commodities in the above mentioned countries; and from iron, steel, rice, the different kinds of dyes and gums; and might serve as a security to the East India trade and navigation.

Their

*Merchan-
dize.*

Their riches consist in these wares, and also in bills, knives, hatchets, iron and steel spades, apparel, cattle, plantations of yams, in marshes for cultivating rice, and in the number of subjects and slaves. The zaferamini are the richest in gold, which they conceal with great care from the Europeans; and it is remarkable, that every person of distinction preserves some remains of their ancestors gold, which they hold in great esteem and veneration. In the province of Manghabei, the gold is deposited in the tombs of their predecessors.

*Manner of
going to
war.*

Their manner of war is by surprise and ambuscade; when an advantageous opportunity presents, they assemble privately, and, having rested in the night, endeavour, at break of day, to attack the enemy on a sudden. Sometimes the word is given eight days before for meeting on the day appointed, by different and unknown roads, to attack and storm the towns of their enemies, which they surround and advance to with dreadful shouts, and, if with success, massacre all they meet, not sparing the children at their mothers breasts. When the heat of fury is over, they make slaves of all they take, but put to death the children of the chiefs, in order to extirpate the race of their enemies; fearing, in case they survive, they will one time or other revenge the injury, and make reprisals.

*Policy in
war.*

In war time, spies are sent out to observe the condition and countenance of the enemy, and to discover the situation of the largest towns, and number of cattle. They change their own residence, and drive their cattle to the mountains and places the most inaccessible; and parties of twenty, thirty, and forty men are dispatched to plunder the lesser villages, and bring away the inhabitants and cattle. The villages are generally reduced to ashes, and sometimes spared, through fear of the neighbouring inhabitants, who being exasperated at the sight of the flames and smoke of these fires, take arms, pursue and cut off their retreat. These marauders are generally provided with aulis and moussanes, or *witchcraft*, and billets writ in Arabic characters, and march in full confidence that these billets will draw on their enemies the greatest misfortunes, take away their strength and courage, occasion mortal distempers, and prove in the end the principal cause of their loss and defeat; and that, on the contrary, they are favourable to themselves, by inspiring courage, and procuring a happy
issue

issue to their wars. These people who make use of, and those against whom they are used, are equally strong in the belief of these enchantments; and in case sickness or other misfortunes take place ten years afterwards, they attribute all to the witchcraft of their enemies.

Their arms are different in every province: the people of Androbeizaha make use of a great dart with an iron point, long and thick, and carry fifteen lesser darts, called fitorach, besides the great renelefo, or *mother-dart*. The inhabitants of Manghafia, and of the countries as far as Manghabei, make use of a shield and great dart, called coubahi; the people of Ampatre, Mahafalle, Machicore, and Androbeizaha, use the same arms, with a buckler, long and large dart, and five or six of a lesser size; those northward of Manghafia to the end of the island, cover themselves with shields, and enter with one dart into close engagement with their enemies, and wait their attack without flinching. They are much scared by those who throw their darts at a distance, and, having discharged their missiles, avoid closer engagement, and immediately take to flight. The people of Manamboule are esteemed the most resolute and stoutest soldiers, many of them marching with five or six large darts, which they carry in their shields.

No rank or order of battle is observed; they engage only by hundreds, each exerting himself singly, skipping and leaping with contorsions of face and body, and abusing the enemy with injurious language. When an enemy falls, they cut his throat, and make the most hideous noise, and the most sneaking and pitiful slaves never fail of piercing with darts through and through the inanimate corpse extended on the ground.

The women, in time of war, keep up continual dancing by day and night, never sleep or eat in their town-houses; and, however addicted to incontinency, upon no account whatever suffer the company of another man, whilst their husbands are exposed to danger; persuaded that they would be killed or wounded by infidelity in their absence. They believe them to be animated by their continual dancing, and their strength and courage increased: wherefore they continue their dancing during the whole campaign.

When the chiefs find themselves too weak, or chuse not to protract the war, envoys are dispatched with presents to induce the enemy to peace, and to agree upon a day of conference, for an accommodation; and the enemy likewise returns presents by other envoys, who are to give in.

*Arms.**Fighting without order.**Employment of the women.**Method of suing for peace.*

information of his condition and disposition. They repair, on the day appointed, with their whole army, as if going to battle, to the banks of a river. Each side kills a bull, and presents the other with part of the liver, which they eat in the presence of the respective envoys, with earnest protestations and solemn oaths, attended with imprecations, that the liver, which they eat, may burst them, that God would withdraw his hand from amongst them, that they may be destroyed by their enemies, and their race finish in themselves, if they think of carrying on the war, or carrying off cattle, or killing each other's subjects, or have any design of sending witchcraft or poison into the enemy's country. If any chief sues for peace, from a disability of supporting himself, he must humble himself before the enemy; and, having procured from another chief a protection for the security of his person, must go himself. In this case, the conqueror presents the liver to the vanquished, who, by eating it, engages to be faithful to him. Wars are concluded, and peace is restored, in this manner; though these oaths are generally taken, in order to surprise one another with more facility and convenience, and is the reason why, notwithstanding their oaths, they are always on their guard.

Astronomy. These islanders have some knowledge of the motion of the heavens, of the course of the stars, and the zodiac, which, like Europeans, they divide into twelve signs.

The year is likewise divided into twelve months. The first day begins with the new moon in March: they have no certain and regular account of time and seasons, but compute the years by the days of the weeks, beginning the year of circumcision on Friday.

Religion. The whole religion of those islanders, who observe circumcision, consists, amongst the whites and blacks, of a gross and idolatrous superstition, without churches and prayers.

They believe there is a God, who created heaven and earth, all creatures, and an innumerable host of angels, in seven days; but they neither honour nor serve, but live fearless of him, at the same time acknowledging and confessing their sins, especially in advanced age, and on the brink of eternity.

They likewise believe there is a demon, whom they fear exceedingly, and call Taivadey. They hold God to be the author of all good, never of evil; that he gives existence and life to every thing, and recalls them at pleasure; and that the devil is the author of all kind of evil and

and misfortune ; therefore they appease him with offerings, adore and name him before God in their invocations : they likewise invoke a third power by the name of Dian Manang, or *lord*, or *god of riches*, which they acknowledge to be gold : when they see or have it in possession, it is lifted above their heads, and kissed with the most profound veneration. Many believe even a remission of sins is to be obtained by drinking water, in which earrings or bracelets of gold have been dipped. They believe the angels and servants of God to be infinite in number ; that they move the heavens, the fixed and wandering stars, and are dispensers of rain, air, wind, water, and earth, the protectors also of the dwellings and life of mankind, whom they screen from all troublesome accidents in their enterprizes.

They hold seven kinds of good and evil spirits. They believe that God, having created heaven, earth, and all creatures, placed Adam, whom he formed out of the earth, in paradise, which they fix in the sun or moon, who, having no necessity, was prohibited eating and drinking : they add, that paradise was watered by four rivers, one of milk, another of wine, the third of honey, and the fourth of oil, and abounded with great plenty of all sorts of fruit. The devil, by cunning and craft, finding Adam in paradise, asked the reason why he eat not of those fine fruits and oil, and why he drank not of that fine wine and milk ? Adam answered, he had been prohibited by God ; and had no necessity of nourishment to support life. The devil retired with his answer, and remained two hours, when he returned, and acquainted Adam, that he came from God, to give him leave to eat what he pleased : Adam, thus courted, eat, and, upon digestion, was guilty of an indecency in paradise ; that the devil complained to God of his insolence and filthiness, who immediately drove him out of paradise, and sent him into a country, where an imposthume grew in the calf of his leg, which burst in six months, and produced a girl ; that, being perplexed on this account, he sent the angel Gabriel to God, to know what he should do ; that God answered by the same angel, that he should bring her up, and marry her, when come to a certain age ; which he did, and called her Rohouna, or Eve, who was delivered afterwards of two sons, Cain and Abel, who, when grown up, destroyed each other by an artifice of the devil. They add, that Adam had many children, who increased greatly, became wicked, and refused to acknowledge God ; that God sent a deluge

upon the earth, after he had commanded Noah to build a ship, and retire to it with his wife and children, relations, and domestics, with male and female of every species; that they had no sooner entered than the earth, with the remaining animals, was buried under the waters of the deluge, excepting the four following mountains, Zabalicaf in the North, Zabalicatoure in the South, Zabaliraf in the West, and Zabalibazani in the East; but that no persons could save themselves from death; that, after the deluge, Noah went out of the ship to live at Jerusalem, and from thence to Mecca; that he received from God four sorts of writings, which contained his law; the first Alifurcan, or Al Koran, was for Noah; the second, or Soratfi, for Moses; the third, Zonboura, in favour of David; and the fourth, Alindzi, for Christ, whom they name Rahiffa. They say likewise, that Jesus Christ came into the world, and was sent by God; that he was begotten by no man, but born of the Virgin Mary, who was delivered without pain, and remained a virgin; that Christ was God and man, and a great prophet; that he was crucified by the Jews, but that God would not permit him to die, and was pleased to substitute the body of a malefactor in his place. They observe Saturday with the Jews, not Friday with the Mohammedans; and keep fast-days with great ceremony, though not on fixed and established days, but according to the disposition and quality of the year.

*Circumci-
sion.*

Circumcision, or valascira, is celebrated with great solemnity, and generally in the month of May: the parents and relations repair to the village where the ceremony is to be performed, and present an ox or bull for each child; but less is taken from the poor: the men perform exercises with their darts, and the women make rings, and dance round the performers. When these exercises are over, the master of the village, who is the circumciser, makes an entertainment, and those who have drank the most are thought to have done the greatest honour to the feast: two hundred head are frequently killed, and eat together with their hides, on these occasions. The next morning, being the festival, all observe silence, and every person is in his duty: the parents are taken up in preparing their children; the mothers sleep with them the night before the circumcision in the lapa, or *church*, built a month before by the fathers and uncles of the children who are to be circumcised; and that night the men never approach their wives, or other women, neither of them being permitted to be present at that ceremony after communication with

with each other ; persuaded, from superstitious prejudices, that the blood would not stop when the prepuce is cut off ; and that the child must die on that account. The circumciser also pronounces the following words in a high voice : “ Salama, zahanhare, zahomissabots, anauhanau, nambovatfi tangho, amini tombouc, zahomitoulou bouzanhaminau, &c. or, I respect thee, my God, I unite myself to you by prayer ; I ask you pardon for my sins ; thou hast created feet and hands ; I prostrate myself before thee ; I this day circumcise this infant, &c.” They go afterwards to the lapa, or church, where the children are brought, and dressed by their mothers with baubles of coral, precious stones, and other ornaments, round their necks, and have every thing in readiness by ten o’clock. The ceremony is performed fasting, and they are governed by the shadow of a man, who stands upright before the sun, to observe the critical minute for the execution of this mystery. On these occasions, they measure by feet, called liha, or pas ; and the precise time for circumcision is when the shadow is nine feet long ; then the drums begin beating, and the circumciser puts on his richest garment, and hangs a large skain of white cotton round his arm, to wipe the knife, which he carries in his hand. The fathers walk in procession cross the lapa, with their children under their arms, entering at the west, and going out at the east door ; and then walk twice round the cattle which are to be sacrificed, make the children lie a little on their backs, and touch with their left hand the right horn of each ox or bull, which lie on the ground, with their feet tied ready for immolation. The people are afterwards commanded to withdraw and make room, when the circumciser appears with the knife in his hand to cut off the prepuce of every infant. This he gives to the uncle of the boy, who puts it into the yolk and white of an egg, which he holds in his hand for that purpose, at the same time the attendant Rohandrian or Anacandrian, for butchering the victims, kills a cock for each boy, and drops the blood on the wound, whilst another squeezes upon it the juice of the plant hota, a kind of clover. If the boy is a slave, and hath no uncle, the prepuce is flung away. No noise is made ; and on this day, which is esteemed holy and sacred by every individual, all refrain from drinking. The Rohandrians observe the same ceremonies, but with greater preparations, expence, pomp, and magnificence.

The priests, or ombiaffes, are of two orders ; the ombiaffes ompanorats and ombiaffes ompitiquili ; the ompanorats

rats are writers, and generally masters and teachers of the Arabic language, practise physic, and compose the *ziridfi*, or *massasserrabes*, or *small billets*, written in Arabic characters, which relate to those who are educated in the public schools at Matatane. These sly impostors make great profit, and live at their own ease; the people deeming them conjurors and wizards, and living in the greatest fear of their incantations. The *omptisquili* are commonly blacks, of the Anacandrian race, who study geomancy, or the art of divination; and although rarely, and then fortuitously, successful in prediction, yet are approved and live in esteem with these islanders. There is another set of *ombiasles* among the Negroes, who likewise visit the sick, but can neither read nor write, and make geomantic figures only, with crystal, topazes, eagle-stones, and amethysts; and others, called by the common name of *filaha*, who persuade the people that God sends them in thunder.

Vincentius Albus and Gaspar de San Bernardino assert, that this island was divided into six kingdoms; and that the kings were in continual war: and Marco Paolo, the Venetian, relates, that, in his time, it was governed by four sovereigns; yet, by later accounts, it is certain that every province has a particular lord, called *dian*, who appoints a *siloubel*, or *governor*, over every village of his dominions; and that the opinion, that any one might appropriate to himself and family what lands he pleased and thought proper, is an erroneous and groundless opinion; not a foot of land to be found in the island, but what belongs to, and is cultivated by, the respective owners.

*Form of
govern-
ment.*

The subjects are not governed by laws or edicts, nor is there a written law to be found throughout the island: natural law is the sole rule of their deportment. *Massindili*, or *law of the prince*, is one; *massinpoh*, or *law of private men*, is the second; and *massintane*, the *law or custom of the country*, is the third. *Massindili*, or *law of the prince*, is a word compounded of *massin*, *law or custom*, and of *hadili*, or *command*, is the prince's will founded upon reason, and consists in administering justice to every individual, adjusting differences, and of punishing delinquents in their property or persons. A thief, by this law, must return the quadruple value of the theft, if able, or has a friend to pay the forfeiture; if deficient in these, his life is at stake, and particularly in an affair of importance, or he must become the slave of the party he robbed. *Massinpoh* is the behaviour in life of private persons, in their employ-

employment, trade, conversation, support of their families, and manner of living and undertakings. Massintane is the general and particular custom of the country, the solid foundation and standard of their conduct on all occasions, as their manner of planting and sowing, building villages, making war, or public rejoicings, dancing, and exercise of arms. The prince's law is founded on this ancient custom, which admits of no alteration. Should a chief command any thing contrary to the received custom, the subjects would immediately urge the practice of their ancestors, which princes have not the power of setting aside; nor would they obey the order. They are so tenacious of whatever descends from their ancestors, that nothing in the world could induce a change, which is the reason why the primitive method of agriculture and apparel is so much esteemed amongst them.

An injured person, who has suffered considerably, may execute justice without sending the criminal to, or waiting the sentence of the lord of the country; and a thief, caught in the act, is killed with as little ceremony as a serpent. Adultery is punished with severe penalties, and many send away and kill their wives on this account. If a married woman, separated from her husband, should have children by another man, the children are the property of the husband, till the woman is married again with his consent; but this is never obtained till the *tacq*, or *fortune*, is returned, which is, according to the custom of the country, paid to the woman's father upon their marriage^b.

S E C T. IV.

Comorro Islands. Desert Islands. The Islands of Ascension, St. Matthew, and Annobon; Ilha del Cabres; Islands of St. Thomas and Caracombo; Prince's Island, and that of Fernando Poo.

BETWEEN the north end of Madagascar and the coast of Zanguebar, lie the islands of Gormora, Comorro, or Comaro, from 10 to 15 deg. south latitude. Authors differ greatly with respect to their number. Linschoten speaks only of one, Pyrard and Vincent de Vil mention five, Sanutus three, and Sir Thomas Roe no less than

Comorro Islands.

^b Lincolnm. La Croix. Hist. of Madagasc. by Drury. Flacourt Oper. lib. iv. Purchas, tom. v. lib. vii. Massæi. Hist. l.b. iii.

eight, though he only specifies four by name, viz. Malalia, Angazya, Johanna or Juanny, and Majoke; the three last standing under the same parallel, and almost in a line from east to west, only that Angazya projects a little towards the north.

Malalia lies directly under the 11th deg. and 20th min. of south latitude, from which the last mentioned island is distant about five leagues to the north-west, under 11 deg. and 5 min. Johanna is the most easterly of the whole, and has good roads for shipping, but no harbours on any side. All these islands, and especially Malalia, abound in horned cattle, sheep, hogs, and fowls of different kinds, as well as sweet and sour oranges; great and small citrons, cocoa-nuts, bananas, honey, betel, sugar-canes, rice, which turns to a violet-colour when boiled, and ginger, if we may rely on the authority of Sanutus^c.

Angazya.

Angazya is inhabited by Moors, who trade with divers parts of the continent, and all the islands to the eastward; in cattle, fruits, and the other commodities of the island, exchanging them for calicoes, and other cotton cloths, for their own wear. The bread mostly used in all these islands is made of the kernel of the cocoa-nut, boiled or broiled, and spread over with honey: their drink is palm-wine, or a juice extracted from the sugar-cane, and suffered to ferment, or lastly, the milk of the cocoa-nut. They never let their women be seen by strangers, without permission from the sultan, or an order to see them, which the stranger brings with him. Many of them write and read Arabic with great facility, and some there are who understand the Portuguese, which they learn by means of their intercourse with Mozambique, whither they trade in vessels of forty tons burthen. The houses are built of stone and lime, made of calcined oyster-shells, with which the walls and roofs are plastered in a very elegant manner, and the roofs and windows covered with palm-leaves, which serve equally as a defence against the rain and the sun-beams.

The island of Angazya is under the government of ten lords, the constitution being a pure aristocracy; while Johanna and Malalia acknowledge but one sovereign. Only the children of the sultan of Malalia participate in his authority, whether male or female, who govern in quality of viceroys in different provinces of the island: all, however, bear the title of sultans, though they are in some respects

^c Vide apud Purchas, tom. v. *ibid.*

inordinate to the authority of the father: each has his guards, his crown, sceptre, and all the ensigns and pageantry of majesty, together with a brilliant court and numerous household. The sultan never stirs abroad but he is attended by twenty of the principal persons in the kingdom; upon which occasion his dress is a long robe hanging down to the heels, of striped calico, with a turban on his head. The people generally wear close calico banians, and are continually chewing areka, or betel, in the manner of the East Indians, to whom, in their customs, they have a near affinity^d.

The island of *Johanna* is the most frequented and best known to Europeans, of all the Comorro islands; for here they touch for refreshments in their passage to Bombay and the Malabar coasts of India. This island lies in 11 deg. 50 min. according to some writers, but is placed in most of the modern maps in 12 deg. 20 min. south latitude. It is thirty miles long, and fifteen broad. The natives are Negroes, who profess Mohammedism, live hospitably, and express a particular friendship for the English. Their government is a pure monarchy, and their females are not excluded from the throne. The island is fertile in rice, potatoes, yams, bananas, tamarinds, oranges, lemons, pine-apples, cocoa-nuts, honey, and wax, as well as in black cattle and goats. Their women are employed in husbandry, and other laborious occupations, whilst the men indulge in ease, sloth, and luxury, smoking their pipes, or chewing betel, or areka. They are, in general, a plain, simple, well-meaning, inoffensive people, hospitable beyond their wealth, void of ambition, and totally ignorant of the art of war and arms, the instruments of ambition and destruction. Their kings, though the fountains of justice, assume no state or dignity, but converse familiarly both with them and foreigners, gaining the affections of both by their affability, without diminishing their authority, or taking off from the respect of their inferiors. They have but two towns, to one of which voyagers have given the appellation of King's Town, from its being the residence of their princes. Another they have called Queen's Town, some of their princesses having chosen to hold their court there, and make it the seat of their government. These towns are built with timber and stone; but the rest of their houses, and the habitations of the peasants, are mean huts, dispersed over the face of the island. The ordinary fare of the people is boiled rice, roots, flesh, milk,

^d La Croix, tom. iv. p. 530. Vide etiam auct. supra citat. ibid.

and fruits, particularly the cocoa-nut, the milky part of which is a common drink amongst them, and the shells are generally used for cups. They hate and dread the devil so much, that they burn him commonly in effigy, intimating by that, their detestation of this enemy to the human species. They also have a strong abhorrence of that spot where any one happens to die, looking upon the ground either to be unlucky, or dreading departed spirits, the universal foible of the vulgar; or, as others suggest, believing this place to be polluted by the dead carcase; which pollution wears off in time, and they return to the house, and live in the chambers, where their friends breathed their last, with the same unconcern as other people. In general, the religion and manners of all the Comorro islands have a strong affinity; they vary in particular modes, but the fundamentals of both are nearly the same in all ^e.

*Desert
Islands.*

East of Madagascar, and from the 5th to the 40th deg. of latitude, we find a number of islands, laid down in most modern maps, but no where described. These are the islands called the Settos Hermannos, Tres Hermannos, near the line. The island of Diego Garcia lies under the latitude of 8, and longitude 90 east. Near 2 deg. south of this stand three small islands, called in De Lisle's maps Brandons; and directly south of them, about 3 deg. is the island Rodrique, or Roderigo, placed erroneously, between the continent and Madagascar, not very far distant from the Comorro islands. Under the 29th deg. of south latitude stands the island of Romareiros, about 9 deg. east and south-east of Mauritius. Then appears the island of John of Lisbon, in the same longitude with the Isle of Bourbon, and in latitude 26 deg. south. In latitude 32, and longitude 76, lies an island discovered by the Dutch, to which they have given no name; and south of it, under latitude 37, 38, are the islands of Amsterdam and St. Paul; but of neither of these we can any where find a tolerable description, or indeed any thing that merits the attention of the reader. North of the Cape of Good Hope there are, besides, three small desert islands, called in the Dutch, Roben Eiland, Dassen Eiland, and Frans Eiland. The first of these is called Rabbit Island, from the prodigious number of those animals which burrow about the

^e Sanut. liv. xii. Pyrard, tom. i. cap. 4. Davity, tom. v. fol. 651. La Croix, tom. iv. p. 580.

shore; and the second has its name from the deer it is found to produce, or rather harbour; for it is believed they have been carried thither by some European ships; some think by Spitzbergen, in the year 1601. It is incredible how they have since multiplied, or in what manner they procure pasture on so small an island, the whole of which is covered over with deer. The English and Dutch have also left some sheep here, which have grown to an amazing bulk, but did not multiply in proportion to the deer: their tails have measured twenty-nine inches in diameter, and weighed thirty-four pounds; nor did the fat taken from the loins weigh much less. What could induce Spitzbergen to leave deer and sheep here, we cannot conjecture, as the island, which is sandy, producing nothing besides flowers and briars, had a most unpromising appearance for the breeding or fattening cattle, though the event has answered his expectations. What still increases our astonishment is, that it wants fresh water; which circumstance alone, we should imagine, would destroy his whole project. Rabbit Island is about two leagues only in circumference; and Deer Island still less. As to the Isle of France, it stands north of these, and is much the same in extent and qualities of soil and climate, though we are not informed of the nature of the produce, if any it has.

Turning the Cape of Good Hope, and steering north-north-west, we fall in with the island of St. Helena, lying in the 16th deg. of south latitude; which we have already described in our account of the settlements belonging to the English East India company.

Next comes Ascension Island, so called by the Portuguese, who discovered it upon that day, in the latitude of 8 deg. south, two hundred leagues and upwards north of the island of St. Helena; but neither they nor any other nation have hitherto thought it worthy of a colony. Mr. Ovington tells us, that Tristan da Cunha, the Portuguese admiral, first fell in with it on his return from the East Indies, anno 1508. It is about eight leagues in circumference, some of it high land, or rather mountainous, but all of it barren, without a drop of water, a blade of grass, or shrub, to refresh and restore the languid spirits of the fatigued mariner, loaded with the most nauseous of all disorders, the sea-scurvy. On the contrary, it is, says La Croix, sandy, dry, barren, and burnt up by the heat of the

the sun to a cinder; though some are of opinion there had been formerly a volcano here, now exhausted. In some places, however, Mr. Ovington says, it is fit for tillage; but is chiefly valuable to the homeward-bound shipping, on account of its excellent harbour, and the vast quantities of sea-fowl, fish, and turtle, which are found in it, as well as some goats, whose flesh is not inferior to mutton in sweetness and delicacy. In the crevice of a rock there is a place called by the sailors the Post-office, where ships leave letters for each other, shut up in a well-corked bottle, which the next that comes breaks open, and leaves another in its stead ^f.

St. Matthew island.

St. Matthew Island had its name given by the Portuguese, the first discoverers, because on that saint's day they first fell in with it. According to La Croix, it lies in 1 degree 50 minutes south latitude, about a hundred leagues north-east of Ascension Island. It is about eight leagues in circumference, desert, but finely watered by a rivulet of clear fresh water, that branches out into a number of lesser streams; yet would it seem to have been once cultivated, as the Portuguese kept possession of it for some time ^g.

Annobon island.

We now come to the islands nearer the continent, lying off the coasts of Loango, Mojambea, and the kingdom of Benin. Of these the first which we meet with in our course to the northward is the island of Annobon, or *Happy Year*, a name given it by the discoverers, the Portuguese, who fell in with it on New-year's day. Annobon lies to the east of St. Matthew, in the latitude of 2 degrees south, or, according to La Croix, in 1 degree 20 minutes, and in the 5th degree and 10th minute of east longitude from London, twenty-five leagues south of St. Thomas Island, and forty-five from Cape Lopez Gonfalso. It is, according to Pyrard, about five or six French leagues in circuit; but Baudrand calls it ten leagues in compass. There are two high mountains, the tops of which being continually covered with clouds, occasion frequent rain. Annobon has a number of fertile vallies, prolific in Turkey corn, rice, millet, potatoes, yams, bananas, pine-apples, citrons, oranges, lemons, figs, tamarinds, and other delicious

^f Sanut. lib. vii. Linsch. chap. 95. La Croix, p. 589, *ibid.*
^g Purch. tom. v. lib. vii. cap. 12. Sanut. lib. vii. La Croix, tom. iv. p. 588.

fruits. Here also are oxen, hogs, sheep, goats, pigeons, and poultry in great plenty, with an equal abundance of fish; but the only mercantile production of the island is cotton, which is esteemed equal to any produced in India, were the quantity but in any degree proportioned to its quality.

The governor is a Portuguese, with a few European servants about him; all the rest are natives, who pay him an implicit obedience, and are bigotted in their attachment to the Roman Catholic faith. On the south-east end of the island are two rocks, one of which is upon a level with the surface of the sea, the other higher and larger, but both dangerous in the night to shipping. These rocks are inhabited by a prodigious number of birds, so tame that the sailors frequently feed and catch them with their hands. Between those rocks the channel is so deep and clear that ships may safely pass. On the same side of the island there is a convenient watering-place, at the foot of a rivulet, which tumbles from the mountains down to a valley covered with oranges and citrons, affording a pleasant and refreshing shade; but the road on the north-west side is difficult and dangerous, though most frequented by ships which have no intention of touching upon the continent. In either place it is no easy matter to take in a sufficient quantity of water, on account of the violent breakings of the sea, and a stone intrenchment which the negroes have erected, from which they annoy all strangers who attempt to land. The true road for large shipping is on the north-east side, where they may anchor in seven, ten, thirteen, or sixteen fathoms, on a fine sand close to the land, opposite to the village where the Negroes have thrown up their intrenchment.

The climate is wholsome, and the air clear and serene for the greater part of the year. Every part of the island is watered by pleasant brooks, and fresh water springs, which, however, at the new and full moon, or in all high tides, acquire a brackishness and saltiness, that seems to prove the contrary of the modern system, that fountains and springs have their origin from the sea, and are rendered fresh by percolation. The banks of every rivulet are covered with palms, whence the inhabitants extract their wine by incision; here are all sorts of other fruits and roots, as well as a species of black nut of a purgative quality.

In the year 1605, the Dutch admiral Matelief found two hundred Negroes, and two Portuguese, on Annobon,
most

most of them able to bear arms, expert in the use of them, and trained up in military discipline. La Croix says, it has a town opposite to the road that contains above a hundred houses, the whole surrounded by a parapet. Most of their dwellings are cane-huts. In the whole island there is not a single house built of stone, and only two of wood, which belong to the Portuguese. All the inhabitants are meanly clothed; the women go bare headed, and have also the upper part of the body-naked, modesty being defended by a piece of linen wrapt under their stomach, and falling down in the form of a petticoat, or wide apron, to the knees. As to the men, they wear only a linen girdle round the loins, with a small flap before. The women carry their children on their backs, and suckle them over the shoulder. All the inhabitants are subject to the Portuguese governor, who is the chief person in the island; at the same time that the negroes have their own chief, subordinate to him. They are all rigid catholics, having been either compelled or persuaded by the arguments of the Portuguese to embrace, and, like all other converts, they are bigotted in proportion to the novelty of the belief, and their ignorance of the true tenets^b.

South of St. Thomas, and between it and the former, is situated a small island, called by the Portuguese *Ilha Rolles*, and by the Hollanders *Rolletjes*; between which and St. Thomas stands the *Ilha del Cabres*, or *Goat Island*. Both are mountainous, and covered with wild lemon-trees.

*Ilha del
Cabres.*

Next in order comes the island of St. Thomas, the head possession of the Portuguese upon this coast, called by the natives *Poncas*, but by the Europeans *St. Thomas*, from its being discovered upon the day dedicated to that saint. The equinoctial line passes directly over it, dividing the town, and even the church, into south and north latitudes, between the sixth and seventh degrees of east longitude from London. It stands in the Ethiopic gulf, commonly called the Gulf of Benin, and sometimes that of St. Thomas, is of a circular form, some say forty, and others sixty, miles in diameter; but, according to La Croix, no more than twelve leagues. The climate is hot, moist, and unwholesome, especially to Europeans,

^b La Croix, tom iv. p. 6. chap. 6. § 3. Ramusio, ubi supra.

few of whom ever arrive at the age of fifty, though many of the natural inhabitants live to complete a full century. It is observed of the natives, that they are generally of a lean habit, and dry, hard, atrabilious temperament; that the climate impedes growth; and that Europeans, who promised an extraordinary size, were immediately checked in their stature upon going to St. Thomas, where they never grew a hair's breadth taller; a phenomenon we think by no means reconcilable with that moist hot climate, and, if true, the result probably of some other adventitious cause. Dead bodies putrify here so suddenly, that they are forced to lay them under ground the moment that life is extinct. But the atmosphere seems to have acquired a peculiar malignancy in the town; though we should imagine that fires would, in some measure, correct its bad qualities, particularly with respect to its moisture. The town, indeed, is situated upon a low marshy ground; but the objection holds in every other part of the island, wherever there happens to be a group of houses, the situation being more or less healthy in proportion to the number of dwellings and inhabitants.

At certain seasons of the year, the sky is quite darkened by thick fogs, which are dispelled by the fresh winds that blow in the months of July and August. During the foggy season, the Portuguese have found, by experience, that their only defence against its malign influence is keeping close shut up in their houses till the air is purified and refreshed by the north-east winds, which blow from Ethiopia and Abyssinia, across the continent, and give vigour to the limbs of foreigners, relaxed by the moist warmth of those continued mists, which may be compared to a vapour bath. It is observed, that these winds, so invigorating to the Portuguese, have a quite contrary effect upon the rigid and hard solids of the natives, who fall into a greater number of diseases during their continuance than during the whole year besides.

At St. Thomas's, they have two winters, like all other places under the same parallels, but without the cold which distinguishes that season of the year in Europe. What they here call winter is the rainy, or rather foggy, season, which is by far the most sultry, hot, and intolerable, of the whole year. They both begin with the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, or in the months of March and September, when the sun's rays are directly vertical. The rains continue from December to February, their spring begins with our summer in the month of May,

or

or when the sun is in Capricorn, and continues till it enters the Ram; that is, three months of spring and an equal number of summer. For the three first months of this period, the moist heat is altogether insupportable to persons necessarily exposed to it; we mean Europeans, for, as to the natives, it is life to them; though, when it comes to its height, even they begin to relax, grow faint and sickly under it, are scarce able to drag themselves along, or to touch the earth with their feet, unless defended by thick shoes. Now it is that ardent and putrid fevers break out with incredible fury, sweeping off the Europeans with all the violence and rapidity of a pestilence, beginning with a freezing chilness, which changes into a burning intolerable heat, parched tongue, and tense skin, that commonly carries off the patient on the third, seventh, or fourteenth day, though generally on the third. If they survive the fourteenth day, they almost always recover, unless they have been guilty of some irregularity in the regimen prescribed. La Croix observes, that, in both fevers, bleeding proves fatal, as the constant experience of the Portuguese surgeons shews. Another extraordinary part of their practice consists, not only in permitting, but encouraging, the patient to drink large draughts of cold water, which, La Croix affirms, is always attended with happy consequences. The disease called *bitios de cas*, indigenous to many parts of Africa, is more frequent and dangerous in the island of St. Thomas than any-where else; for which the only cure is lemon-juice taken in large quantities. Venereal diseases are also common, especially that species of it known among the Negroes by the name of yaws, which they have now the method of curing by mercurial unctions and salivation; though we are assured by a number of authors, that certain plants, which all the African countries afford, known only to the Negroes, have in them the most specific virtues against this uncleanly distemper. The last disease we shall mention, which has the appearance of being endemial here, is the dropsy, to which almost all men, both Portuguese and Negroes, are subject; a disease which may easily be explained from the nature of the climate. We are told, that the Negroes cure it in a few days, by mixing the juice of a certain plant, known only to themselves, with the oil of cocoanuts, which they rub all over the abdomen and legs, if they happen to swell. It is possible, indeed, that the virtue of the medicine may be chiefly owing to the deterfive quality

quality of the oil, which some experiments made by Dr. Oliver, of our own country, seem to confirm.

When the court of Portugal first thought of settling a colony in this island, they sent a number of persons whom they supposed capable of so important a trust; and every man of them died in a short time, by the intemperance of the climate. Those who succeeded them had the precaution to make some stay in Guinea, and afterwards at Angola; thus, by approaching gradually, to render the effects of the change less sudden and fatal: the consequence was, that they supported the climate of St. Thomas without any great diminution of their number, or inconvenience of those who survived. We are informed likewise, that John of Portugal sold for slaves all those Jews who refused to embrace Christianity; and that, after ordering their children to be baptized, they were transported thither, from whom are descended, the present inhabitants, who are a kind of mixed race between the swarthiness and atrabilious temperament of the Jews, and the more sanguine plethoric habit and jet-black complexion of the Negroes. When the Dutch admiral Houtabeau took the island in 1641, he lost the greater part of his crew in a very short time, and fell himself a sacrifice to the unwholsomeness of the climate; by which most of the officers were carried off. In a word, with such fury did almost all the diseases of the place rage among the Dutch, that, in less than a month, scarce hands enough remained of the crews of four ships to work one back to Europe; and they were forced to write to prince Maurice, then in the Brazils, to assist them with sailors, fresh provisions, and wine. The diseases that made the greatest havock among them were dysenteries, which carried them off in a week, and acute pains in the head terminating in deliriums, that destroyed life.

The same mortality seized the crew of admiral Verdoes in the year 1610, who lost above a thousand men by the epidemic disorders of the country in five days. Verdoes himself, his vice-admiral Storm, seventeen captains of ships, all the land-forces, and the greater part of the sailors, died like infected sheep. It was not therefore without reason, that prince Maurice recommended to the Dutch, while they were in possession of this island, the same policy used by the court of Portugal; namely, the sending none but condemned criminals thither, where they met with a fate no less certain than if they had been punished on the gibbet.

The

The soil on the island of St. Thomas is clammy, viscous, clayey, high-coloured, frequently coarse, and mixed with chalk. It does not easily crumble into dust, on account of the moisture it receives from the heavy dews that fall at night, which at the same time water plants, and render the soil prolific. The excellency and fertility of the earth appears from hence, that if a Negro leaves a plantation uncultivated or fallow but the shortest time, trees, plants, and shrubs sprout forth with amazing vigour. These they convert immediately to use, by burning them to ashes, which proves the strongest and best manure for sugar-canes. This plant grows in all the valleys to a prodigious height, but is less juicy, and produces a smaller quantity of sugar than might be expected, either from some natural defect, or a default in the manner of squeezing the cane, which is different here from the method used in the Brazils and West India islands. After the cane is planted in a soil manured with vegetable ashes, it arrives at maturity in less than five months, and those set about the end of January are ripe for cutting in June, those in February in July, and thus they have fresh crops the year round. As soon as they are cut down, they squeeze them in water-mills, or mills turned round by Negroes or cattle, which the Portuguese call *ingenhis*; the sugar is boiled and formed into lumps, no more of it being refined or purified than is wanted for use; and the squeezed canes are given to the hogs, who fatten extremely upon this diet, get firm, solid, and sweet flesh, and are often cured by it in their most desperate diseases. Formerly seven ships used to be freighted in the sugar-trade, four for Portugal, two for Madeira and the Canaries, and one for England; but since this production hath been brought to such perfection in the American colonies, the trade of St. Thomas is fallen low, and perhaps the soil may be impoverished by too frequent culture. The Portuguese have omitted nothing to render their sugars white and solid; they have had refiners and boilers from every nation in Europe, but all to no purpose, the soil communicating a certain flavour and fatness that is incapable of being purged off.

This island produced neither sugar-canes nor ginger, before the Portuguese planted and cultivated them with great care and labour. In 1645 there were upwards of fifty-four sugar-mills in constant employment, each of them furnishing yearly six or seven hundred loads of coarse sugar,
or

or rather of the juice unprepared; the whole being computed by Mandesloe at forty ship-loads.

The Portuguese have been no less assiduous in bringing wheat to perfection, which they imagined must flourish extremely in so rich a soil. Experience, however, has disappointed their expectation, and proved the climate to be too moist, and the earth too viscous, for bringing that precious vegetable to its full perfection. Nothing can be more beautiful than the first appearance of a crop, which springs up to an amazing height in an incredibly short time; but the ears are observed never to fill well, or produce any thing equivalent to the trouble of the husbandman. Rice and millet flourish here, and perhaps for the same causes that obstruct the maturity of wheat. Vines of the richest kind, melons, cucumbers, figs, ginger, all sorts of roots, pulse, and pot-herbs, together with the fruits of every denomination of the warmer climates, are reared in the utmost perfection with little labour or expence. From their vines they make excellent wine, but in a small quantity; their attention to the sugar-trade diverting them from improving their vineyards to all the advantage of which they are capable. In a word, the experiments they have made abundantly prove the fallacy of that maxim which prevailed among naturalists, that vines could not be raised to any perfection in the torrid or frigid zones, or even in countries more moderate than either of these extremes.

The scarcity of wheat obliges the inhabitants to use rice, millet, and roots, and chiefly the last, for bread. Yams in particular are found congenial to the Negroes, and prove a most delicious and wholesome diet. They have them here of four different kinds, which they distinguish by the names of benin, maniconga, acherevi, and safvanec, intimating the places from whence they were transplanted. The two first are the sweetest, if eat fresh, but the latter keep the best. They have also a root they call mandchocu, which they make into bread; but the natives are not fond of it, and export it chiefly to Angola, where it is in high estimation. This root is much used in Brazil, where it never arrives to the same perfection or size as at St. Thomas, and has particularly this essential difference, that there they press it under a great weight before it is used, in order to express a thin juice and moisture, said to be of a malignant and poisonous quality. Without this previous operation it produces violent vomitings, and all the symptoms of a true poison. Here is a

species of bean they call jojoos, and a fruit to which they give the name of peligos, having this peculiarity, that it grows immediately out of the trunk to which it adheres, like round vials, or large globules of water, which it resembles in transparency, while the leaves hang like fruit from the extremities of the twigs and branches. The fruit incloses a small stone, and eats deliciously if it has been separated from a thin rind that envelopes it. Here also is a fruit called cola, the production of a tree of an extraordinary size. The fruit is enclosed in a hard shell, divided into separate parts by thin partitions of the rind, esteemed pleasant and wholesome, eaten by the Negroes raw, and by the Europeans roasted, in the manner of chestnuts. It has a kind of agreeable bitterness, that adds a pungency to the taste, but is changed into sweet by drinking a glass of water. A great trade is carried on by the Negroes in this fruit, which they export to all the neighbouring coasts of the continent. They also trade largely in palm-wine and oil; but their chief traffick consists in cotton, from whence arises a very considerable revenue to the Portuguese. In the island some part of it is manufactured into blue and white, or red and white striped cloth, for the use of the natives, and also for exportation to Angola, Loango, Congo, and Benin. Here also is found the cabbage-tree, called abellame by the islanders, which grows to a prodigious height in the space of one year.

The island of St. Thomas is well watered with fresh rivers and rivulets, of a clear, light, wholesome water, that greatly fertilize the soil, says La Croix; though we are inclined to believe that the length of the rainy and foggy seasons, together with the heavy dews which fall the rest of the year, would afford sufficient moisture, perhaps too much, to the earth, without the addition of fountains, springs, rivulets, and rivers; many of which, after innumerable windings and branchings, discharge themselves into the sea. In the center is a high mountain, covered with wood and fruit-trees, the top always crowned with snow, in such quantities that it forms a number of rivulets, which water the sugar-cane plantations in the vallies at the bottom. It abounds with a variety of animals, tame and wild, as hogs, black cattle, sheep, goats, and a small species of little red, or high-coloured bay horse, geese, Guinea hens, ducks, turtle doves, fowls, thrushes, partridges, starlings, sea-gulls, paroquets, with an infinity of the feathered kind, some valuable for their plumage, some for their flesh, and others for their voices and the melody

melody of their song. In the surrounding sea is found an incredible variety of fish, from the whale down to the smallest fish that swims; nor are the rivers less plentifully stocked. In a word, this island might equal any spot on the globe, did the temperature of the island correspond in any measure with the abundance of its fruits, plants, and animals, as well as the diversity and beauty of the landscape.

Pavaoafan, or Pavaoste, the capital, is divided into four parts, by two rivers that intersect each other in the very center of the town. It stands on the middle of the gulf, in a plain on the north side of the island; is of an oval form, and about half a league in compass, containing within this space about five hundred houses, each one story high, the method of building in all the warmer climates. Towards the sea it is fortified by stone ramparts, which the Portuguese governor erected in the year 1607, by publishing an edict, that every person who entered the town should bring with him a stone, to contribute to the defence and security of the place. All the houses are built of a durable white timber, as hard as oak, the growth of the island, except the governor's and two other houses belonging to the Portuguese, which are built of stone. Here are three churches; the largest, called Conception, in honour of the Virgin Mary, is a stately building, that passes for a cathedral; the second is the Santa Isabella, to which adjoins an hospital; and the third, which is no more than a chapel belonging to the castle, is called St. Sebastian.

The castle or citadel of St. Sebastian, composed of four salient bastions, stands upon a point of land on the north side of the town and gulf. It is neatly built with freestone, hard as flint, the walls twenty-five feet high, and so thick and strong, that it may be deemed impregnable on that side, provided the garrison consists at least of a hundred men, with ammunition, stores, and every thing necessary for defence.

The inhabitants are of two sorts, the outlawed and banished Portuguese, who were settled there at its first discovery; their descendants still preserve their fair complexion, with no very considerable alteration; and the Negroes retained in the service of the Europeans, and such as chuse to reside here from Angola. The former are distinguished from the Portuguese, who go thither to trade, to accept of posts, and to raise their fortunes. They are, however, allowed the honour of calling themselves

Portuguese, though they and their ancestors have been born in the island. Perhaps, indeed, another distinction ought to be made of that mixed progeny, the fruits of the embraces of a Negro and a white person, who are in fact true mulattoes. It is customary, besides, to import about five thousand young Negroes from Lovando St. Paolo, to be trained in the art of planting sugar-canes, and all the various operations of this manufacture, who afterwards are sent or sold to the West India colonies: at least this was formerly customary, and no late author mentions its being abolished.

The Portuguese inhabitants dress in the manner of their mother country, and many of the Negroes and their children, imitate them; but the slaves, as well male as female, go naked, except an apron of palm-leaves, or a bit of cloth, which their masters oblige them to wear out of decency.

The common diet of the country, consists chiefly of bread made of potatoes, yams, and other roots, we mean with respect to the Negroes; and palm-wine mixed with water, or simple water only, and sometimes goat's milk. In the hot seasons, five or six families agree to eat together in caverns under ground, to avoid the scorching sun-beams, whither each carries his provision, which he has dressed at home. This method is likewise customary among the Portuguese, but at different seasons of the year.

The trade of the island consists in sugar, of which they export in the lump about a hundred arobs, by some writers called auropes, yearly, each arob weighing thirty-two pounds; that which is sent into Europe being wrapt up in leaves. The carriage from the interior parts of the island is down the river in canoes, or in sledges or carts drawn by oxen, which last method greatly raises the price of the sugar; and indeed that trade is of late years much diminished. Their cotton and stuffs, manufactured in the island, constitute the next material article of the Portuguese trade at St. Thomas, together with the fruit cola, of which we have spoken. The exports made from Portugal, and formerly from Holland, are Flemish, Roan, and other cloths, threads of all colours, serges, camblets of Liege, serge de Nimes, hatchets, saws, iron bars, salt, copper and brass utensils, with a variety of hard-ware and mechanical instruments, together with Canary wine, olives, raisins, Lisbon wine, flour, beer, and such like articles.

As to the revenue which the crown raises from this trade, it is inconsiderable, the duties upon imports and exports being extremely low, in order to encourage the trade, so visibly upon the decline, and particularly the exportation of home manufactures. What is chiefly collected is in the island, and paid into the hands of the Portuguese governor. This arises from a slight duty upon fishing, planting, and all manufactures, which, by being laid on gradually, from the meanest artisan or husbandman to the merchant, is thought to fall easier by passing through so many hands, than if the whole duty was exacted at the port or warehouse on shipping or unshipping goods. Upon fish a tax is laid in the following manner, for the support of the insular government; those who fish with nets on the sea-shore, pay a tribute of every fifth fish they catch; and those who are so rich as to keep canoes, pay three sols weekly for their privilege; and in the same manner are the manufactures and mechanic arts taxed.

All the inhabitants, except a few Negroes and slaves, are of the Roman catholic religion, but full of bigotry, superstition, and ignorance. The ecclesiastical government is in the hands of a bishop, who resides in the capital, though his jurisdiction extends over the whole island, and is a suffragan of the archbishop of Lisbon.

The island of St. Thomas is the unalienable property of the crown, governed by a viceroy or governor appointed by the king. He is obliged to reside at Pavaosan, with his corregidor, who takes cognizance, under the governor, of all civil, and, under the bishop, of all ecclesiastical crimes. The inhabitants are obliged to keep guard upon the governor's house, the citadel, and the ramparts; also to repair the governor's house at their own expence, to keep in good condition all the bridges over the rivers, for facilitating trade and travelling. This is a charge that falls extremely heavy, as the rainy seasons make continual devastations, and occasion the necessity of their being almost entirely rebuilt every year. Hence we see at how small an expence to the public this colony is kept, the only charge indeed being the governor's appointment, which is paid out of the royal treasury at Lisbon, but much less than the revenue produced by the trade, besides the advantage to the nation from the consumption of its manufactures.

While a treaty between the court of Lisbon and the States General was on foot, respecting this island and some other circumstances of commercial interest, St. Thomas

was

was taken by Admiral Jol, who sailed with a Squadron from the Brazils in 1641. Jol landed his men about two miles from the town, at a sugar-mill near St. Anne's, where he passed the night under arms, ordering the ships to draw up in the morning under the cannon of the citadel, but without firing a shot, unless the enemy first commenced hostilities. In the mean time, the land forces begun their march towards the town, which was unprovided with every thing necessary to its defence; and the citadel was mounted only with six pieces of large cannon and some small ordnance. After making themselves masters of the out-works, they gave the assault to the citadel, where they met with a warm reception, and were repulsed with considerable loss. They, however, entered the town without resistance, which they found destitute of provisions. Here they begun regular approaches against the citadel, which was soon forced to capitulate, notwithstanding the spirit and courage of the governor and his slender garrison, but upon honourable terms, the Dutch permitting them to march out with their arms and baggage, engaging to transport them to Europe, and signing favourable conditions for the negro inhabitants, and Portuguese long established in the island. Job becoming master of the citadel and town, did not rigidly adhere to the articles of capitulation; for he assembled the inhabitants, and exhorted them to pay him in a fortnight a contribution for the security of their privileges, property, and sugar-mills, which he threatened otherwise to demolish, though he pretended the strictest regard to justice and equity. Two of the chief merchants agreed to pay him a considerable sum, and two thousand arobs. of sugar, for the preservation of their mills and plantations, the privileges of their religion and ancient customs, and the protection of the government; but the majority petitioned for passports to leave the island, which he accordingly granted. The Portuguese, however, had their revenge, by the epidemic distemper that soon swept off great numbers of the conquerors, and obliged them to relinquish the island.

*Island of
Caracombo.*

At a short distance north-west of St. Thomas stands the island of Caracombo, situated about 15 minutes north of the line, a little above the mouth of the river Gabon. It produces a variety of fruits and plants unknown in Europe, and some peculiar to itself, besides birds and other animals. It is no uncommon thing to find a hundred nests of birds floating in the water upon one branch of a tree, or supported

ported upon a slender twig; an admirable contrivance, pointed out by instinct against the attacks of serpents and lizards, as we are assured by that accurate observer Linschoten. The island is inhabited, and by a race of the most abandoned, profligate, and lewd wretches, at least as to the women, upon the face of the globe. They make nothing of prostituting their bodies to whoever comes in their way, and in the most public manner in the open air. The other particulars related of those islanders favour so much of fiction, that the reader will not be displeased if we refer him to La Croix and Davity for a more minute account. Sufficient it is that they make their bodies no less deformed than their minds, and are monsters, who resemble humanity in nothing but their speaking articulately, and in walking erect upon two legs.

Prince's Island, (called by the Portuguese *Ilha del Principe*, because under the conduct of a prince of that nation it was first discovered, or, according to Davity, because it is annexed to the crown, and a revenue drawn from it,) is situated in the second degree of north latitude, thirty-eight miles from the continent, and about twenty-four miles to the northward of St. Thomas, says La Croix. This, however, appears to be a mistake, as either the distance must be necessarily greater, or the latitude he supposes erroneous, as St. Thomas, it is agreed by all geographers, lies immediately under the equinoctial. The distance indeed between these two islands is about forty miles in the best maps we have consulted; so the latitude will be about 50 min north, allowing for that part of St. Thomas which lies on this side the line. Although the intervening space be so small, yet no places can differ more widely in the nature and temperature of the climate, it being here no less healthy than it is destructively malignant at the island of Saint Thomas. The country is wholly covered with the finest oranges, lemons, bananas, cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, and other fruits and plants of the warmer climates; besides a particular species of tree, the trunk whereof frequently measures twenty-four yards in circumference; but no writer mentions the name, or gives any description, of it. They have also palms, of which the natives make wine; vines, but in no great quantity; cotton, which women manufacture into pretty cloths; and mandihoca, that serves the natives for bread; besides black cattle, hogs, sheep, rabbits, and fish both in the sea and rivers. We are told by the Dutch voyagers, that the natives, whom they

*Prince's
Island.*

they found there, went entirely naked, except the chief and his women. He wore a cotton robe, and trowsers of the same stuff, and the women a kind of apron fastened round the waist by a girdle, hanging down to the knee. In their hands they held crooked spears, like the descendants of the Amazons, crowns of flowers upon their heads, and crosses hanging upon their breasts, intimating their religious belief. The king, or chief, never appeared without a little shield on his left arm, and a sword, dart, or pike in his right hand, while the common people, probably the king's guards, appeared constantly with long darts in their hands, or upon their shoulders. The inhabitants were Portuguese or Mulattoes, all of them acknowledging the sovereignty of his Portuguese majesty, although they had likewise their own chief. The Portuguese bore no proportion in number to the Mulattoes or Negroes, and did not exceed forty or fifty; whereas the others, besides slaves, amounted at least to three thousand men, women, and children, and slaves almost to an equal number; all of whom were employed in the plantations and sugar-mills, in cultivating rice, millet, and several other productions necessary to life, or useful in commerce.

*Fernando
Poo's
Islands.*

In the gulph of Benin are five islands ranged in a line from south to north; viz. the islands of Annobon, Saint Thomas, Caracombo, and the islands of Prince and Fernando Poo; this last forming the northern extremity of the chain. It was discovered by the famous Fernando Lopez, and for a while called *Ilhas das Formosas*, a name which was afterwards lost in that of Fernando Poo. It lies in 9 deg. 30 min. north latitude, between the high country of Ambofes and the river Camerone, about four leagues and a half from the continent, the intervening gut being safe and navigable. In extent it is more considerable than Saint Thomas, but greatly inferior in point of fertility, although it likewise produces rice, millet, tobacco, fruits, and the sugar-cane. The natives are perfect savages, fierce, treacherous, and inhospitable, governed by seven different princes, who waste the blood of their subjects in perpetual civil wars.



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